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NOTICE:
This volume contains a representative selection of material previously disseminated in softcopy format.

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Ministries Crack Down on People Smugglers

AU0705210995 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 7 May 95

[Report by Amalia Dhamo]

[FBIS Translated Text] For more than 10 days, the Interior Ministry has taken every measure not to allow the entry of foreign nationals who want to use Albania as a springboard to pass clandestinely into neighboring countries, particularly to Italy. The Interior Ministry, in cooperation with the Defense Ministry, has begun an operation to prevent this phenomenon and is continuing it in the area of Vlore, Rinas Airport, and at all maritime and land border crossing points. As you see today, we filmed a part of the operation that is being carried out in the entire border area in Vlore.

Regarding the operation, Order Police Director General Agim Shehu confirmed for television:

[Begin recording] The Interior Ministry—with the participation of border, police, and criminal police forces and in cooperation with the Defense Ministry, especially the Navy—is carrying out a search and control operation. We are trying to discover networks of clandestine transportation and to search for persons dealing in this trafficking. Our aim is to prevent the trafficking of these persons in the direction of neighboring countries—mainly Italy—and to discover the networks and methods of this trafficking. Our aim is also not to allow Albania to become a border crossing platform toward neighboring countries. This is not simply a signle action or case that the Albanian police are undertaking. It is a continuous target. The operation today is being carried out in cooperation with the Armed Forces, considering the importance that the security of the border has in maintaining a normal sailing regime and particularly in preventing crime through naval routes—especially the clandestine transportation of people, which has often been noted by the Albanian media. [end recording]

The ministries of interior and defense have mobilized all their means for this operation, such as torpedo boats, speedboats, and other means.

According to the conversation with the border general director, there was a considerable decrease in the phenomena of illegal clandestine trafficking following the operation and for 10 days after it was carried out at all border points, as well as following the measures taken according to the laws in effect.

On this occasion, the Interior Ministry warns that it will take strict measures to apply the law against all those who carry out and participate in illegal clandestine trafficking of people and those who shelter them. The ministry will seize boats and land vehicles used for this illegal activity.

The operation continues at all maritime and land border crossing points.

'Clandestine Neo-Nazi' Organization Noted in Fier

AU0805114995 Tirana KOHA JONE in Albanian 4 May 95 p 6

[Article by Z. Alushi: "Clandestine Neo-Nazi Organization in Fier"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A.M., a former officer of the Fier Police Commissariat, reported in the local newspaper two years ago that a Nazi party had been formed, but the news was quickly forgotten. Now, Nazi symbols and slogans can be seen in many public places in the towns of Fier and Patos, and you can meet plenty of youths in schools and discos with Nazi-style cropped heads and the distinctive single earring.

Is this a phase of adolescence, a fashion, or a problem deserving attention?

A pupil at the Technical School says in confidence that his Nazi-skinhead friends have created their own organization on the model of their "brothers" in Greece and Italy, with whom they are in contact every now and then.

We succeeded in contacting Alban R., a member of this organization. Asked by KOHA JONE about the organization and his ideas, he said. "I feel myself to be a neo-Albanian more than a neo-Nazi. I feel sad to see our ancient race being eclipsed by the Romanies, gypsies, Aromanians, and barbarians of all kinds that are multiplying in our town. This was why I joined this clandestine organization. After I was inducted by a friend of mine who is a longstanding member, I paid the admission fee of $200, and since then I have been a regular member."

What this young man has to say shows how far the organization's ideas go, and that in the future it will not confine itself to daubing symbols. These swastikas are still before our eyes on the threshold of 9 May, as if to show how long-lived the virus is.

Article: 'Radioactive' Steel Exported to U.S.

AU0805144195 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 4 May 95 p 12

[Article by Mikhail Simeonov: "Panic in Stomana Company Regarding Victims of Radiation From Nuclear Plant Scrap"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In January, the journal AMERICAN METAL MARKET reported that the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency is tracking down radioactive Bulgarian sheet steel delivered to the United States. A check carried out by the local authorities established that the German company, Ferrostahl AG, arranged for the steel to be imported into the United States by sea.

Stefan Stamenkov, head of the Stomana ["Steel"] Company, admitted exporting the sheeting to the United States, but denied knowing anything about its radioactivity. According to Stamenkov, another Bulgarian plant could also have produced the sheet that was seized in the United States. However, experts claim that the metal sheeting delivered to the United States is of a type produced only by the Stomana Company in Pernik.

Informed sources state that on 20 January 1995, the Metalurgimpeks Foreign Trade Organization sent a fax reporting the scandal to plant director Stamenkov and to former trade minister Kiril Velev.

The Bulgarian Embassy in Washington said it knows nothing about radioactive steel. Ivan Gospodov from the Washington mission said the case is a purely private affair.

The chief of the Pernik plant told 24 CHASA that the story had been fabricated. The report is aimed at damaging our good name as exporters, Stamenkov said. Deputy Industry Minister Vasil Manovski also admitted the possibility that the foreign report had probably been concocted by the competition. In his opinion, the attack was launched precisely at a moment when the Pernik firm has started to establish positions in the North American market. He claimed that the purpose is to cause the prices of Bulgarian products to collapse. There can be no question of competition between Bulgarian metallurgical companies, Manovski said, because they produce different products.

The Kremikovtsi plant alone expects to export at least 500,000 metric tons to the United States. The Canadian market is also said to be very promising. A few days ago, Canadian businessmen are reported to have concluded a deal for 100,000 metric tons of Bulgarian steel. The North Americans are said to offer good prices for our products. Bulgaria observes strictly its international agreements regarding exports of metal products, which is why the competition is resorting to blows below the belt, businessmen claim.

People in the trade assert that the affair with the radioactive steel is similar to the way in which we were eliminated from the military products market.

The U.S. branch of Ferrostahl confirmed that the radioactive sheeting was manufactured in Pernik. Don Townsend said, however, that the level of radioactivity is very low. He added that, so far, the official U.S. authorities have not ordered the sale of the steel to be blocked. However, AMERICAN METAL MARKET claims that some partners of Ferrostahl have started returning the steel.

According to U.S. experts, the sheeting does not pose any direct radioactive threat to people's health, but when the sheets are used as building materials, workers handling then might be irradiated. U.S. experts have calculated that one hour's exposure to the plates is equivalent to the dose received from an X-ray examination. In their view, the sheeting had been manufactured from metal scrap containing remnants of shredded testing apparatus.

Officials at Stomana AD in Pernik say that the scrap was delivered in 1993 from the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant. It is supposed to have come from the casings of some of the plant's reactors. The reactors' external casing has a service life of several years, following which it is replaced. Experts consider that materials intended to be melted down should be tested for radioactivity, but company officials assert that no such samples were taken.

There are fears that the plant's workers have received far higher doses of radioactivity than the U.S. building workers. Officials at the plant recall that Pernik metalworkers spent months on end near the places where the scrap was stored. Foundry workers also stand for hours by the furnaces used for melting down scrap.

In January 1994, a mysterious illness struck down 70 workers at the metallurgical plant. They were admitted to the local hospital suffering from high temperatures, inflammation of the respiratory tract, and badly bloodshot eyes. The patients complained of permanent lassitude and tired quickly. Nikolinka Paunska, 49 years old, who entered hospital with the same complaints, later died of a heart attack.

Within a week, the number of cases rose. A rumor of an epidemic of trichinosis circulated at the plant. The Stomana management ordered mass examinations of the staff, but the results revealed nothing. The pathologists' report on the post mortem carried out on Nikolinka Paunska states that it revealed no signs of Trichinella larvae. This disposed of the theory of a trichinosis epidemic and prompted the workers to suspect that their illness had not been caused by something they ate in the works canteen.

At that point, someone remembered the scrap received from the nuclear plant. A rumor about exposure to radiation immediately began to circulate. It turned out that all the victims came from the production staff who worked in the electrical steel manufacturing shop that processes scrap.

According to the rumor, the scrap from the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant was used to manufacture the test batch of 1,000 metric tons of thick steel sheeting sent to the United States. Informed sources claim that some of the workers who fell ill have started legal actions against the management of the Pernik plant. The court has not yet pronounced its verdict.

Zhelev, German Officials View NATO, Russia

AU0505201595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 5 May President Zhelyu Zhelev received German Bundestag members Rudolf Seiters and Klaus Francke. The guests were interested in the president's position on the issue of NATO membership, the Press Center of the Presidency reports.

Mr. Zhelev has pointed out that our membership in NATO should not be linked to other states, and that the relevant decision must be adopted by our country.

The German deputies asked Mr. Zhelev to comment on our relations with Russia. The president said he supports preserving good relations with Russia. The president thinks Russia should not be allowed to decide who should join NATO.

As far as Bulgaria's membership in the EU is concerned, President Zhelev said that the process could be delayed but could not be diverted in any way.

Pavlov on Military Budget, Foreign Activity

AU0905115895 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 5 May 95 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Dimitur Pavlov by Colonel Vladi Vladkov; place and date not given: "There Will Be Better Days for the Bulgarian Army"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Vladkov] Mr. Minister, Bulgarian Army Day coincides with the completion of the first 100 days of the cabinet's activity. You are also a member of this cabinet. What is your assessment, at this stage, of the Defense Ministry's activity?

[Pavlov] We never imagined that within this brief period of time we would be able to resolve problems that had accumulated over several years, or that we would encounter no new problems. However, we are aware of the positive trend. I am convinced that when the upsurge in the country's economic structure generates a momentum both the Bulgarian Army and the Ministry of Defense will be in a better state.

During the past 100 days we paid special attention to maintaining the constant combat-readiness of the troops and increasing the efficiency of the training process. Naturally, all this is specifically related to financial resources. As I pointed out at my news conference on 3 May, regardless of the fact that the 1995 national budget does not satisfy the Army's real needs, it still contains certain positive trends. For example, the share of resources for the current maintenance of the Army (wages, food, clothing, medical services, everyday expenditures, and so forth) has increased 2.2 times in comparison to 1994. The resources for the Army's technical supplies also increased, from 900 million leva in 1994 to 3.5 billion leva in 1995. This is more than the combined amount spent for this purpose in 1991-94. The funds for research and development grew from 12 million leva in 1994 to 100 million leva in 1995. This is an increase of 8.5 times. The capital investments funds have doubled. In 1994 there were 200 million leva, while in 1995 they will reach 426 million leva. Naturally, this will be reflected positively in the construction of military camps and apartments.

It is for those reasons that, despite the fact that we did not receive the total amount of funds we need, we nevertheless conclude that what is allocated to the Army is sufficient to maintain and to a certain extent even improve the financial security of the Army—if the means are transferred to the Army in a stable and timely manner during the year.

[Vladkov] The adoption of the Defense and Armed Forces Bill is a matter that has influenced the Army for one year already.

[Pavlov] This draft bill has been worked out by a group of experts and submitted to the National Assembly, which will debate and adopt it. The National Assembly Commission on National Security discussed the draft bill, adopted it in principle, and on 30 March adopted a decision to propose to the National Assembly that it give priority to debating the bill because of the bill's importance. The leadership of the Ministry of Defense and the military personnel expect that the draft bill will be adopted by the National Assembly at second reading, prior to the beginning of the summer recess.

We would like to base military reform on the new bill as of September. [passage omitted]

[Vladkov] How would you assess the results of the international activity of the Ministry of Defense, or the so-called military diplomacy?

[Pavlov] The international activity was directed toward strengthening the foundations of our national security by means of military diplomacy. Bulgarian representatives continued to participate in multilateral international forums at which security issues were discussed and resolved. New and important steps have been made in developing bilateral military cooperation, something that increasingly takes into consideration the changes in the military-political sphere as viewed by Bulgaria.

In total conformity with our national interests, and without affecting the security of other countries, the Bulgarian Army is actively participating in the Partnership for Peace initiative. We are doing this in order to come closer to the existing collective defense systems with a view to joining them in the future, when they become systems of collective security based on the constructive attitude of all European states. We are making efforts to renew relations with our partners in East and Central Europe on a mutually beneficial and principled basis. We continue to implement plans and programs of military cooperation that have been signed with states with which we have established military contacts in recent years. [passage omitted)

Van den Broek, Pirinski Review Results of Visit

AU0505183595 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 5 May, EU External Relations Commissioner Hans van den Broek ended his visit to Bulgaria. After a series of meetings with state leaders and politicians today, Mr. Van den Broek held a joint news conference with Foreign Minister Georgi Pirinski at which the results of the visit were presented. The following are the more important results:

The first session of the Council on Bulgarian Association in the EU has specifically been prepared. The event is expected to take place on 29 May in Brussels. Many problems related to the PHARE [Economic and Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program have been eliminated. Its application will be accelerated. In connection with the Schengen visa regime the EU's support is expected in order to place Bulgaria in an equal position with other countries.

Mr. Van den Broek highly assessed Bulgaria's readiness to continue the reforms. Our country, as an associated EU member, will be invited to take part in the intergovernmental conference which will take place in 1996.

Videnov To Hold Meetings While in Moscow

AU0805170095 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Before his departure for Moscow this evening, Bulgarian Prime Minister Zhan Videnov said at Sofia Airport that he has meetings confirmed tomorrow with the leaders of the Russian Duma and Prime Minister Chernomyrdin.

Videnov said that the Moscow celebrations will provide an impressive demonstration of anti-Fascist solidarity of world dimensions. He added that it is important to him that his hosts are specially allotting time to Bulgaria, which is a mark of recognition of Bulgaria's contribution to that victory and to stability at the present time.

Videnov Holds News Conference on First 100 Days

AU0505181295 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 5 May in Sofia, Prime Minister Zhan Videnov held a news conference on his cabinet's first 100 days. The prime minister described as justified the criticism related to the need to specify the basic commitments assumed by the cabinet, such as maintaining a lasting economic growth, effecting a structural change in industry and agriculture, stopping impoverishment, effecting a judicial reform, and associating with the EU.

Simultaneously, the opposition contributed much to the fact that for 100 days the National Assembly adopted only one of the 19 draft bills submitted by the cabinet, Zhan Videnov said.

According to Videnov the government has successfully implemented its program declaration and prepared the three documents it promised.

Answering a question by a Bulgarian National Radio reporter, the prime minister assessed two of those documents and the connection between them:

[Begin Videnov recording] The White Paper is a result of the cabinet's collective work. All cabinet members, including the prime minister, participated in its preparation. The White Paper is not the result of any compromise among the cabinet's members. The signatures of all 18 cabinet members stand under each separate chapter of the White Paper, especially those that affect the relevant ministry or department, and under the White Paper as a whole. This document expresses our visions on the situation in the country at the moment the Democratic Left assumed power.

Perhaps we could not reach the necessary depth in analyzing the causes of the situation, and perhaps we were not totally objective, but our striving was to ensure a strong starting base upon which we could build our government program. From this point of view the White Paper was a useful document.

In the program that we will present in less than a week it will be evident whether we have successfully used the White Paper or not. [end recording]

Videnov Article Assesses First 100 Days

AU0905084295 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 5 May 95 p 7

[Article by Prime Minister Zhan Videnov: "100 Days in 100 Lines"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] On 25 January 1995, the National Assembly elected the new Bulgarian Government with an impressive majority. Those who voted for the government of the Democratic Left did not underestimate the difficulties, did not try to hide them from our society, and did not promise a quick and painless restoration of destroyed state structures and economy. On the contrary—it was clear that the country is in the midst of a comprehensive crisis, that many and various problems require an immediate reaction, and that serious analysis is necessary—now more than ever before. [passage omitted]

The anticipated economic growth in 1995 will surpass the 1.5 percent that has been forecast. Unemployment has declined since the beginning of the year. Exports are at a good level and the country's foreign currency reserves have increased. The budget deficit has been limited and there is no danger of an avalanche-like increase in state debt. The inflation indices are significantly better than anticipated. All this has been achieved for the first time in five years without new blows in the standard of living, the stability of the leva, and Bulgarian production and markets.

The government of the Democratic Left did not delay but rather accelerated the privatization. The 36 privatization deals that have been concluded prove this. Many of them are deals that included manager and worker buyouts with domestic and foreign state debt bonds. Preparation for massive social privatization has been resumed. It will begin in the fall and will facilitate the denationalization of about 20 percent of production funds and an increase in the private sector's share in the gross domestic product—up to 40 percent until the end of the year. [passage omitted]

Bulgaria's association with European structures and achieving stability in the Balkans are the government's foreign policy priorities. We could note with satisfaction that our partners assess the government's active foreign policy as prudent and realistic.

The government of the Democratic Left is conducting a consistent policy of national consensus. Reaching an agreement on the essence of economic reform and its social cost, which must be just and tolerable by the broad social strata at the same time, is a real challenge. Such an agreement must be achieved on the basis of dialogue and interests. The supremacy of law must be asserted in practice. Citizens and groups must clearly accept that the Constitution and laws provide the framework of common behavior and activity. National foreign policy must be upheld in order to overcome confrontation on issues of general national interest. This confrontation is lethal to Bulgaria's authority and place in the world.

The government of the Democratic Left will continue to conduct a policy of national consensus that relies on dialogue, seeking agreements and broad cooperation in implementing those agreements. This is not an expression of weakness but, on the contrary, the necessary foundation for effecting decisive and energetic actions in order to implement the policy preferred by the voters.

SDS Issues Declaration on Cabinet Activity

AU0605153195 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 2 May 95 pp 1, 9

["Declaration of the Seventh SDS National Conference on 100 Days of Government of the Former Communists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 18 December 1994 the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] obtained the legislative and executive powers. Thus the communists were supposed to assume openly the entire responsibility for governing the country, after secretly governing the country in the two previous years through Berov's government.

Already in 1990-91, at the cost of much efforts and pressure on the part of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], a national consensus was formed on the following fundamental issues:

—restoring the land ownership;

—privatization;

—returning illegally seized property;

—separating the powers and differentiating the state and party structures;

—denouncing the communist past and the communist theory and practice;

—effecting an accelerated integration into the European and Atlantic structures without allowing the Bulgarian position to depend on the claims of third states, especially Russia.

The SDS repeatedly noted a retreat from those principles of national consensus, shilly-shallying, and attempts to cheat and block the reform. In the last 100 days we have already witnessed an open and brutal violation of those principles, something which allows us to describe the BSP's policy as a policy of confrontation and restoration.

For 100 days the BSP has been creating structures which mix the party and state power. It systematically refuses to subject itself to parliamentary control, and restores in an ever growing scope the communist principle of ruling through acts and decrees which have not been enacted by the National Assembly. The parliamentary majority is revising by force the existing laws and is overtly bringing the country back to its communist past.

Zhan Videnov's cabinet refuses to assume responsibility for the economic and social reforms and demonstrates obvious indecisiveness and lack of competence in ruling the country.

For 100 days already the BSP government has not been able to decide what privatization should be given priority—the cash or the mass privatization. Simultaneously, the preelection promises concerning the "social" privatization have totally been forgotten.

For 100 days already the BSP government has not been able to decide how to treat the foreign investors. A Foreign Investments Agency has been created, but simultaneously, many restrictions on the participation of foreign investors in privatization have been introduced.

For 100 days already the BSP government has not been able to decide whether to support or liquidate the two state banks. Half measures, such as turning the Bank Consolidation Company into a ministry department, only testify to the total lack of ideas.

For 100 days already the BSP government has been replacing the structural reform in industry with massively returning to the enterprises the old managers from Todor Zhivkov's time.

For 100 days the BSP government has not been able to offer the country an annual budget with new ideas in the field of the structural and social reforms. Instead, the parliament was forced to accept a financial framework in which one cannot find the generous promises of the election platform. One also cannot find the necessary clear priorities and new visions. The budget is aimed against the simple taxpayers, and at the same time it provides illegal benefits to gambling business, smugglers, the Bulgarian and Russian power supply Mafia, and the major financial groups.

For 100 days already the BSP government has not been able to find a common language with the international financial institutions. Delegations of the IMF and the World Bank arrived and departed without Videnov's cabinet assuming any commitments concerning ensuring the financing our country needs so badly.

For 100 days already the BSP government has been blocking the return of the land and the reform in agriculture, while waiting for the anticonstitutional and overtly recommunization Land Bill to take effect. Not even one half of the means needed for the spring sowing have been provided, but on the other hand the cabinet "proudly" rejected the World Bank credit aimed at encouraging the private farmers.

For 100 days already the BSP government has been constantly coordinating the wages and pensions and promises to increase them. Simultaneously, without any embarrassment and warning the price of electric power and fuels was drastically increased.

For 100 days the BSP government has been constructing the Dzherman-Skakavitsa water project, in which no water is flowing, but was not able to move forward the procedure related to receiving the "water" loan from the World Bank.

For 100 days the BSP government has reduced the reform in education to restoring the public rallies and to threatening to restore the students' uniforms and curfew. Now the total return of communist cadres in science and higher education is expected as a result of adopting the anti-Panev Bill.

For 100 days already the BSP government has been giving frequent news conferences at the Ministry of Health, which apparently are expected to replace the anticipated reform in health protection.

For 100 days already the BSP government has not been able to decide how to struggle against crime. Simultaneously, policemen are killing suspects, gangsters are executing each other on the streets, and organized crime is financing the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

For 100 days the BSP government has been creating favorable conditions for the development and activity of procommunist, profascist, and nationalistic groups. The restoration of the political police has begun.

For 100 days the BSP government has not been able to propose any practical steps aimed at accelerating the process of integration into the EU and NATO. Instead we learned that Europe begins in Vancouver and ends in Vladivostok, that Serbia, which has been punished by the embargo, is a factor of peace in the Balkans, and that Bulgaria does not dare to express a willingness for integration in NATO without Russia's blessing.

The government is keeping silent about the fate of Bulgarians outside the motherland's borders, and crudely violates the Bulgarian national interests.

Zhan Videnov's cabinet is a hostage to restoration and overtly communist intentions of its hard-core voters.

The BSP government is unable to implement its extravagant election promises, by which it lured the votes of many people who are tired of the changes.

The BSP government is unable to effect the extremely necessary and decisive reforms along the road toward the democratic society.

Today there no longer is any doubt that the BSP is fully unprepared to rule under conditions of the irreversible transition toward market economy, democracy, and civic society.

With its first 100 days the government of the former Communists clearly demonstrated that it is harmful and dangerous for Bulgaria.

Article Examines Shifts, Political Dynamics

AU0505162995 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 28 Apr 95 p 13

[Article by Rumyana Strugarova: "The Autumn Elections are the 'Universal Counterweight' to the Bulgarian Socialist Party"]

[FBIS Translated Text] For the first time in five years of parliamentary democracy the opposition's real strength lies outside the National Assembly. Preoccupied with their own organizational uncertainties, the opponents of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] majority appear incapable of distinguishing between important and secondary issues, and the chaotic manner in which they oppose the legislative pressure applied by the Socialists naturally makes them the losers. Even if they manage to set aside their differences and personal phobias and synchronize their actions in parliament, something that seem impossible at the moment, they are unlikely to find the strength effectively to oppose the parliamentary majority. Accordingly, it is easy to understand why the center of the opposition has shifted from parliament to the presidency—the institution with the stronger positions. It is also evident that the president is striving to assist this process by adopting a position of actively encouraging forces that personify public dissent and organizing them around himself. In this respect, the independence of the judiciary has remained completely untouched, in that a series of recent rulings by the Constitutional Court were a demonstrative response to political partiality linked with the presidency.

On the other hand, the majority, although it is absolute, does not lack reasons to fear for its political image. The only parliamentary group with which the BSP has tried to illustrate its idea of national consensus were the marginals of the Bulgarian Business Bloc. The fiasco involving its unpredictable leader [George Ganchev] and the uncertain future of the entire group and each of its members clearly doomed the attempt to failure before it had produced any of the results that the BSP hoped for. At the same time, the Socialists have to take account of the fact that the public's hopes that were naturally prompted by the changes at the top can relatively quickly change into disenchantment. According to the opinion polls, the BSP's popularity has dropped 5 percent within a single month. What is more, this loss of support relates more to the Socialist deputies than to Videnov's government.

This National Assembly also shows signs of quickly exhausting its potential and is beginning to become the main target of public discontent. In three months, its popularity rating has fallen by 9 percent and one Bulgarian in every two now doubts the merits of our elected representatives.

In this situation, the BSP is also compelled to seek positions to extend its influence outside the National Assembly so as to limit the possible negative results of its declining popularity in parliament. This in fact is a mirror image of the processes developing in the opposition. Krasimir Premyanov, leader of the Socialist parliamentary group, has publicly announced this intention in a striking, but vague form of words. In his view, the civic society is the universal counterweight to rectify the functioning of the institutions. According to him, two circumstances dictate that one should not necessarily look for this counterweight in the National Assembly: First, because, in the BSP's view, the judiciary and the presidency have formed a union against the rule of the political forces; and second, because the confrontation in society threatens to provoke tension, with a danger of disrupting the normal course of the democratic process.

Everyone knows that the structures of civic society are the litmus test of democracy. For this very reason, they could not serve as a political counterweight, let alone a universal one. However, what the BSP has in mind is probably not the autonomous civic communities, insofar as they exist at all, but their own familiar, well orchestrated alternative, such as Ginyo Ganev's Patriotic Alliance, or Emiliya Maslarova's Democratic Women's Union. The last elections revealed the political influence of formations of this kind and the personal ambitions of their omnipresent leaders. The fact that the ruling majority is inclined to seek benefit from the possible social dividends provided by the marginals' false alibi in return a handful of minor posts in the government only goes to show the futility of seeking a universal counterweight outside parliament.

The BSP is more likely to seek to demonstrate broad public support for its policies among the extraparliamentary political forces before the local elections this autumn. The success of this undertaking is predictable, because the Socialists are almost certain to win these elections. As a result, thousands of vacancies for political appointments will become available throughout the government hierarchy, and the candidates for these posts will be even more anxious to please. The tactical advantage for the BSP is that the local elections will serve as an advance rehearsal of the duel for the presidency. Only the gullible can believe that the regroupings around the presidency and the ruling party are anything but a testing of muscles before the race for the presidency is announced.

President Havel Discusses Relations With Germany

AU0805140195 Prague DENNI TELEGRAF in Czech 3 May p 2

[Unattributed report on interview with President Vaclav Havel for Czech Television; place and date of interview not given: "Czech-German Relations Can Culminate in Declarations of the Parliaments, Vaclav Havel Said"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—According to President Vaclav Havel, an adoption of political declarations by the parliaments of the Czech Republic and Germany could be the culmination of the current acceleration of the contacts between Czech and German politicians and experts, whose debates should remove all obstacles on the way to a problem-free cooperation between the two countries. Vaclav Havel said this in an interview for Czech Television.

According to him, the parliaments should clearly state that "they do not want to dig up political, legal, or economic claims from our past," and that both republics want to look to the future and not strain mutual relations by any remnants of past wrongs.

According to Havel, the Czech side has fully considered what it can do and wants to do. "Whatever we are going to do regading Germany, it will certainly never include satisfying any demands or claims," he said. Something could be done in the matter of citizenship and in the matter of a joint foundation, it should be formulated in some way that "the German community really belongs in our history," the president added.

It will not be a simple process, but it could, if everything goes well, lead to the desired goal before the end of the year, the president said. He believes, however, that right now that "the ball is in the German court." The president confirmed that it really is the Czech side that came with certain initiatives after a haitus in the dialogue.

He said that a debate began in Germany following his February speech in the Prague Karolinum Hall, and the Czech side also came to life. President Havel pointed out that he, the prime minister, or the foreign minister meets with some German politician almost daily. He highly praised the relevant activity by Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec. According to the press, Zieleniec recently spoke in favor of establishing a Czech-German Future Fund, to which the German Government would deposit funds for the compensation of Czech victims of Nazism.

Havel Seeks Czech-German Joint Declaration

LD0505152695 Berlin DDP/ADN in German 1356 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Berlin (DDP/ADN)—Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech Republic, has affirmed his wish for a joint declaration to be adopted by the parliaments of Germany and the Czech Republic. He told the Berlin-based TAGESZEITUNG (Saturday edition) that such a declaration is the next Czech objective in bilateral relations. "The deputies should state that they will not support any attempt to change the outcome of World War II legally, politically, or economically. They should state that the two countries are forward looking and do not intend to allow remnants of past injustices to strain their relations."

Regarding compensation for Czech victims of national socialism, Havel said Prague had already compensated them. If the German Government were to decide in favor of compensation, then this would, above all, psychologically improve German-Czech relations. Furthermore, it would lead to Czech accommodation. Money is not the issue. For Germany, the amount is insignificant, and for the Czech Republic the amount is not too great. What is important is the gesture.

Havel said that after such a declaration by the parliaments there is a possibility for further steps. One of them could be an offer to regain Czech citizenship, already made earlier, to the Sudeten Germans expelled from Czechoslovakia and to the many Czech emigrants and Slovaks. Under present legislation this would have great psychological significance, Havel said.

Businesses To Resist Joining Embargo on Iran

AU0705191495 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 4 May 95 p 15

[Article by "lav, pol": "Iran Is an Important Partner and Enterprises Do Not Want To Stop Trading With That Country"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prague—If the Czech Republic joined the economic embargo against Iran that the United States declared, numerous enterprises would lose very promising deals in our developing trade with Iran. Above all, in the recent months, talks have been renewed on numerous contracts.

According to Skoda Plzen marketing director Ivo Sindel, his firm would lose at least $60 million (approximately 1.5 billion korunas—Kc) over the next two years.

In the developing world, Iran has become a significant customer of Czech sugar refineries, power plants, aluminum works, cement works, tanneries, rubber works, and silos. For decades Iran has been one of the biggest customers for Czech diesel engines and aggregates. The Iranian power generating industry and the supplies of trolley buses for the 12 million Tehran residents seem to show particularly good prospects for the Czech firms.

Some problems concerning financing several constructions have just been resolved.

The volume of trade with Iran has, however, been declining lately. While in the early 1990's it amounted to $200 million for the former federation, it was just under $50 million for the Czech Republic last year with Czech exports amounting to $44.2 million.

As a matter of fact, government authorities did not approve an RDP Group application last April for a license to export repair equipment for T-72 tanks.

While the U.S. Government banned U.S. firms from investing in Iran, Russia announced yesterday that it approved a $1 billion contract with Tehran on the supply of nuclear reactors and other high-tech equipment to complete a nuclear power plant on the Persian Gulf coast.

Prime Minister Calls Visit to U.S. 'Useful'

LD0505122595 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1000 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus ended his visit to the United States today. Our correspondent Jan Smid asked him to evaluate his visit.

[Begin recording] [Klaus] I would like to say, first of all, that the visit was useful because it is obvious that not everything can be dealt with from a distance, as there are things that can be explained only (?directly). I think that during this visit we managed to do precisely this during our meetings with the U.S. Administration, with President Clinton especially, in the Congress and Senate, and also in meetings we had with representatives from business and academia, and with many other institutions. My impression from these meetings is good.

[Smid] Were you surprised that the majority or almost all questions posed to you at most of the meetings where you spoke concerned the North Atlantic alliance?

[Klaus] [passage omitted] NATO and the possibility of increasing its membership has become an issue in American politics. It is no longer a marginal issue, but has become a fundamental debate over America's position in Europe.

[Smid] The American press is speculating that the future of NATO is likely to be decided between two countries: the United States and Russia. You had talks with a number of Clinton administration representatives and with American legislators. Was it possible to detect something about these speculations from what they said, even if it was just a mere hint?

[Klaus] I think that these are false speculations and that the media have somewhat inflated them. I have an impression that the politicians who represent the United States know very well that there is not a slightest reason to provoke Russia or push Russia into a blind alley or isolation. [end recording]

Havel Addresses War Veterans on V-E Day Anniversary

LD0805192095 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1637 GMT 8 May 95

[Speech by President Vaclav Havel marking the 50th anniversary of V-E Day at a meeting of war veterans at Prague Castle—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Soldiers of allied armies, members of Czechoslovak units abroad, participants of home resistance, foreign guests, esteemed citizens: I am proud that today, 50 years after our country's liberation from Nazi hegemony, on behalf of the Czech Republic I can thank all those who deserve credit for this liberation. I thank all the living of many nations who took part in the liberation struggle on the eastern and western fronts, for risking their lives fighting for the revival of the democratic Czechoslovakia, for the freedom of all of us, and for the victory of mankind over Nazi violence. My thanks to all living Czechs and Slovaks and other Czechoslovak citizens of various nationalities, including Germans, who fought in foreign military units side by side with the allied forces for the liberation of their homeland. I thank all the living participants of our home resistance for salvaging, in the name of all others and on their behalf, the honor of our nation and for bringing an important contribution to our becoming, as a state, a member of the victorious coalition. [passage omitted]

We are remembering this anniversary at a time when we are finally, absolutely free. I firmly believe that ours will be a lasting freedom. All those who fought against Nazism and all those who opposed communism contributed to it. [passage omitted]

If our nation wants to remain upright, if it is to preserve its dignity and respect for itself, it must never forget the heroism of its liberators and the heroism demonstrated by its predecessors when resisting violence. At the same time, our nation must understand the depth of the failure of those of its many members who either tolerated the evil or who even promoted it.

We should never cease to be ashamed of the indifference with which the majority of our society watched how despicably the communist regime treated—on behalf of all of us, on behalf of our homeland—the heroes or the victims of World War II. After all, those who contributed most to our freedom were the first ones to be persecuted.

I consider this to be one of the biggest crimes of communism, the crime which best revealed the true identity of communism. [passage omitted]

I would like to use today's special occasion to apologize on behalf of our nation to all those who were protecting its honor during World War II and who helped bring in freedom, for the indifference with which our nation watched their persecution after the war.

The attitude of servile caution, typical for many of us both after Munich during Nazi occupation and under the communist rule, must never again become our national trait. [passage omitted]

There is one more thing that should be said. While the allies defeated Germany in World War II, in the years that followed Germany succeeded in defeating itself, in other words, the new Germany defeated the old Germany. Present-day Germany is an imporant part of the democratic and unifying Europe. It is a Germany which long ago parted from its national and expansionist past, it is a Germany which was the hope of the courageous German antifascist fighters.

I would therefore like to use this moment to appeal to all my fellow citizens not to succumb to anti-German moods which some enemies of the peaceful and democratic Europe would like to generate and to try to find in themselves the strength to denounce all the demonstrations of iniquity and cruelty used at one time by many of us as a revenge for the destructive actions of Nazism.

Nazism and Nazi Germany have long been consigned to history. But the courage of those who opposed Nazism or the memory of those who on various battlefields of World War II continued in the generations-long struggle which mankind waged against the evil, which itself generates and to which it succumbs so often, has not and must not be consigned to history.

Veterans of World War II and resistance fighters, never again shall we betray your bequest.

Political Heads Speak at Concert

LD0805191495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech at 1805 GMT on 8 May carries a live broadcast of a gala concert from the Rudolfinum concert hall in Prague to mark the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II.

Following the national anthem, Culture Minister Pavel Tigrid takes the floor to deliver a 3-minute introductory speech to welcome those present.

Premier Vaclav Klaus then speaks for 10 minutes to thank all those who played a part in the defeat of Nazi Germany, including foreign armies and the resistance movement at home and abroad. He looks back on the period of communist rule in Czechoslovakia and discusses what he decribes as a failure to come to terms with the past during that time. He says that following the collapse of communism, an opportunity presented itself to overcome the past, and Klaus believes that since 1989 the Czech Republic has come a long way in doing so. He says that European integration represents a great chance to take the process further.

Parliament Chairman Milan Uhde then speaks for 11 minutes on the debt owed to the wartime resistance and on the lost opportunities of what he terms the wasted years of communist rule in Czechoslovakia. He says that allowing the Communist Party to come to power in 1948 was a great mistake as it led to a loss of freedom. Uhde also talks about his family's experiences in the war. He concludes by saying that the Czech Republic is now aware of its past and also its present freedom and responsibilities.

Havel on World War II, Dangers of Balkan War

LD0705153195 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1215 GMT 7 May 95

[Weekly interview with President Vaclav Havel by correspondent Eva Hulkova; place and date not given; from the "Conversations at Lany" program—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Hulkova] How many dimensions has in fact this famous 50th anniversary?

[Havel] [passage omitted] I have noticed a public opinion poll in which the majority of people, most of them young, said that this was the anniversary of the end of World War II and we should mark it as such—not as the anniversary of liberation and victory, etc. I think this attitude includes dangerous elements because it may contribute toward perceiving war as a natural disaster, an earthquake, something people are unable to influence, a horror sweeping through the country which we remember as a horror visited upon us, as a natural catastrophe which is, I would say, neutral from a human and political point of view.

This is not the case. There was something at stake in that war, wasn't there? Somebody won, somebody lost in that war; one set of values won over the other set of values. This war was fought against one of the worst and most perverted dictatorships and ideologies, it was a war against a regime that included sadism in its program.

This was a great confrontation at that time between humanity and the people's deepest darkest feelings that transformed themselves in a strange way into Hitlerian ideology. We should be aware of this and should learn certain lessons from it; for instance, that it is necessary to fight evil, fight it even with weapons, fight it from the very beginning. [passage omitted]

I think that the victory over Nazism was also something else. It was a victory over a dark potential half asleep in German history; over German haughtiness and expansionism, over German nationalism. It seems that this war has put an end to it once and for all.

I would say, and I think that I have already said it in some of my speeches, that as the allies won over Germany, Germany has subsequently won over itself as well. The current Germany is democratic, liberal, based on civic principle and with a European orientation. This is to a certain extent one of the results of World War II and all its consequences.

[Hulkova] [passage omitted] Regarding war, even today we are afraid because the Balkans are not so far away, and it seems that we have not fully learned our lesson from World War II.

[Havel] Yes, I share your view and have said this many times before. I think it is becoming increasingly clear that the international community, the community of democratic states, is failing vis-a-vis the events in Yugoslavia. There is a revival there of the principle of national hatred, the ethnic principle that puts one's ethnic origin, for which nobody can be held responsible, above everything else, turning it into a value for its own sake, and this attitude claims that one person is superior to others of a different origin. This is something extremely dangerous, something that can spread.

The helplessness of the international community is really alarming. It is possible to attempt to explain it through various circumstances; for instance, by the fact that the entire Western democratic world was set up and arranged with some kind of a possible global conflict in mind, referring to a bipolar division of the world. It was not, however, prepared for these kind of small local conflicts, which have the potential to expand; it was not prepared to confront them, to confront them from the very beginning.

This is an enormous challenge facing the democratic world today, the challenge made timely by the anniversary we are marking; that is, the challenge to look for ways to stop immediately the bloodshed in the former Yugoslavia. [passage omitted]

Klaus Explains Postwar Expulsion of Sudetens

LD0805084795 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0700 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The share of the Allied armies in the liberation of the Czechoslovak Republic was equal. It would be mistaken to leave out any of the armies, said Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus in Usti nad Labem on 7 May. He also commented on the postwar expulsion of the Sudeten Germans:

[Begin Klaus recording] It was not easy or simple to assess the guilt of our then fellow German citizens. An individual approach was impossible then, and we should also say that nobody suggested it at that time. It is simply not fair to judge it applying current criteria. We are naturally sorry about various things that happened 50 years ago. We also regret that the expulsion of our then fellow German citizens was not sufficiently tolerant to have it ever forgotten. [sentence as heard] [end recording]

Kovac Terms No-Confidence Vote Unconstitutional

LD0505180895 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At this moment, dear listeners, our reporter Michal Tvarozek is calling from the the president's palace in Bratislava.

[Tvarozek] Thank you. At this moment President Michal Kovac is holding a small impromptu news conference with a few journalists so that the president can respond to what happened in parliament. I asked Vladimir Stefko, the president's spokesman, to read the declaration by the president.

[Begin Stefko recording] Dear fellow citizens: Despite this being the eve of the 50th anniversary of the defeat of Hitler's Nazism and the end of World War II, I cannot ignore today's parliamentary resolution, in which I received a vote of no confidence from 80 deputies.

This decision has no foundation in the Constitution and is, therefore, unconstitutional. The Constitution is the supreme law of the country; it is above the president, the government, and parliament; therefore, all state bodies, including parliament, must obey the Constitution and act within its framework.

I remind you of Article 2, Paragraph 2 of the Constitution, according to which, let me quote, state bodies can act only in line with the Constitution, within its limits and to the extent and by means defined by the law, end of quote.

The role of the president is to safeguard the constitutional regime. Parliament's vote of confidence in the president breaches the Constitution, and therefore I cannot accept it. It does not obligate me in any way and in legal terms is irrelevant. It does not remove my responsibility to continue my duty as head of state.

I am sorry that some of the deputies did things that cast a bad light on their honesty in the eyes of the public both at home and abroad. I regret that this unconstitutional vote took place at a time when Slovakia and the rest of the world are celebrating the victory of democracy over dictatorship in the hope that tolerance, friendship, and ethical principles will never be suppressed.

It is my duty to assure you that I will not give in to pressure or to unconstitutional moves. Democracy and legal order will not be abolished. Decency, truth, and a constitutional regime will prevail. I therefore appeal to you to celebrate the 50th anniversary in peace without spoiling it with an unconstitutional attempt to disrupt peace, order, and democracy. I wish you joyful celebrations and a quite holiday. [end recording]

Debate on SIS Leads to No-Confidence Vote

LD0605123595 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] During the third day of the seventh session of the National Council today, deputies were presented with the report prepared by the Special Control Body [OKO] concerning the activities of the Slovak Intelligence Service [SIS]. The debate was closed to public. During the day, journalists received information primarily from opposition deputies in front of the parliament during breaks in the session. The official information on today's session was also delivered to journalists and radio and television crews waiting at the parliament steps. Our reporters Magda Pospisilova and Ludmila Bulakova recorded the information for Slovak radio.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Shortly before 1600 [1400 GMT], Igor Urban, a deputy for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], who had read the report on SIS activities in parliament, appeared in front of the parliament building. This time he read to journalists the text of the resolution supported by 80 coalition deputies.

[Urban] The National Council appointed the OKO to investigate the activities of the FSIS [Federal Security and Intelligence Service] in Slovakia from 1 January 1991 to 1 January 1993. The parliament also appointed the OKO to investigate the activities of the Lenin Spark [Leninska Iskra] club which was active in Slovakia between 1987 and 1989.

The National Council has declared that the laws on the use of the state budget for the administration of the SIS were violated. This particularly concerns Law No. 263 on public acquisition of goods, services, and public works, in terms of all its amendments; Law No. 567 on the budget regulations, in terms of all its amendments; and Edict No. 638 issued by the Ministry of Finance in 1992 on the use of the means of the state budget and financial management of nonprofit organizations. Some cases lay grounds for suspicion of criminal activities.

The Slovak National Council also declared there was proof that the SIS overstepped Law No. 46 on the Slovak Intelligence Service passed by the National Council in 1993. The SIS has violated the law primarily by acting against constitutional officials, and political parties and their representatives.

The National Council declared that there was proof that President Michal Kovac was continuously informed about those SIS activities that overstepped the law by acting against political parties and their representatives.

The National Council further declared that all information given by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar regarding the amendments of Law No. 46 issued in 1993 on the SIS was proven and registered.

In conclusion of this part of the resolution, the National Council declared that, despite all efforts, the OKO had not gained any information confirming the truthfulness of the president's speech.

Based on a proposal by Mr. Vitazoslav Moric, deputy for the Slovak National Party, the National Council passed a resolution saying that regarding the report giving the above facts, the National Council has lost confidence in the president. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Ruling Movement Says President Unfit for Office

LD0805173295 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At its regular session in Bratislava today, the political executive of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia assessed the domestic political situation which arose from the passing of a resolution by the National Council on Slovakia's supreme legislative body's loss of confidence in the president.

The period of over two years that Michal Kovac has held the post of president shows that he is incapable of continuing to hold this office as he is constantly polarizing society, his actions do not indicate his being above party politics, his behavior belittles the gravity of democratic decisions approved by the National Council and thus also of the will of the majority of citizens and voters of Slovakia.

For these reasons, the political executive of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia calls on Michal Kovac to give up the post of president of the Slovak Republic in the interests of preserving pluralist democracy in Slovakia.

Hungarian Group Rejects Call for Kovac Resignation

LD0905142095 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1000 GMT 9 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Hungarian movement Coexistence held a news briefing in Bratislava this morning. The top issues discussed there were a call by the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] that the president should resign and the drafting of the bill on state language. Editor Marian Skotka reports.

[Skotka] To start with, the movement's chairman Miklos Duray commented on the statement by the HZDS political executive addressed to President Michal Kovac asking him to give up the presidential post. Miklos Duray said this statement was unconstitutional.

Despite the fact that Coexistence deputies did not vote for the Constitution in 1993, as Slovak Republic's citizens they would like the Constitution to be observed.

National Council Deputy Edita Bauerova reported about the Coexistence's position on the state language bill. She expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that the bill has not been published yet and said she was concerned that the bill runs counter to the Council of Europe's recommendation number 1255, whose Article 7 seals the national minorities' right to use their language when communicating with state authorities. [passage omitted]

National Council Deputy Zsolt Komlosy also attended the Coexistence news briefing. He explained the reasons for Hungarian coalition deputies not taking part in the vote on no-confidence in the president. He said that the reason for their decision was their disagreement with the form in which this resolution was presented and that they considered the resolution itself unlawful.

Kovac Address To Mark World War II Anniversary

LD0505221195 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Celebrations of the 50th anniversary of Slovakia's liberation, the end of the World War, and the victory over Fascism are to take place in Bratislava tomorrow. Slovak President Michal Kovac is now going to address you on this occasion:

[Begin Kovac recording] Esteemed fellow citizens: Half a century has passed since the anti-Hitlerian coalition defeated the Hitlerian totalitarian regime in Europe, after the six years of the biggest war ever in human history. [passage omitted]

May 1945 brought freedom to a destroyed Europe, saving entire nations, renewing democracy, rehabilitating humanitarian spirit, human solidarity and tolerance, reviving civic community. All this has, however, quickly disappeared from the eastern part of the continent and from our country, which has subsequently found itself, together with other countries, under a new yoke as the dictatorship of the Hakenkreuz was replaced by the dictatorship of the Red Star. The latter has also cost us dearly and we are still struggling with its remnants. Despite this, the victory over Nazism was of an enormous significance even for us who were sentenced to live for decades behind the Iron Curtain. [passage omitted]

Even five decades after the event we can proudly recall Slovak freedom fighters against Nazism on all

European as well as non-European battlefields. It is true that the government of the Slovak state [1939-45] sent Slovak soldiers to fight side by side with the Hitlerian coalition but the democratic spirit of our people has found its expression in the Slovak National uprising and on other fronts in the country. This gave Slovakia the opportunity to become a part of the victorious anti-Hitlerian coalition. The current Slovak Republic is proudly subscribing to the legacy of this tradition.

I am recalling our bitter experience with Hitlerian Nazism also because it has been possible to hear perplexing views in our country lately, even in this anniversary year; the views that for various reasons seek to praise home lackeys of the Nazi Germany.

Nobody can justify the crimes against humanity, regardless of who committed them. Therefore, we cannot afford to be indifferent to such views, even if they are voiced in our community at first only by small groups. This does not mean, however, that we should not attempt to assess truthfully the past events and those involved in them. Still, I must emphasize that the views I mentioned are not contributing in any way toward building current Slovakia's democratic statehood, toward the historic awareness of modern Slovak citizens or toward our republic's good reputation in the world. [passage omitted]

The fifty years since the end of the war have shown how difficult it is to regain the lost freedom and how many victims this costs, and how easy it is to lose it, above all if the spirit of intolerance, chauvinism, and class or racial hatred prevails. [passage omitted]

We must not forget that true freedom is based exclusively on justice toward history. This also applies to the two totalitarian regimes we have survived. History has a memory that cannot be avoided.

Esteemed fellow citizens, we have a historic opportunity to come to terms with our past, draw a clear line between history and us, and to live as people deserving to be called such. [passage omitted]

Reception, Speech on Dictatorships

LD0605222995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Slovak President Michal Kovac has given a reception at Bratislava Castle marking the 50th anniversary of Slovakia's liberation, the end of the World War II, and victory over fascism. [passage omitted] Addressing his guests, he highlighted the enormous importance of the defeat of Nazism and fascism for all countries in Europe and throughout the world. In this context he said, among other things:

[Begin Kovac recording] The experience of the last 50 years has, I believe, sufficiently convinced us that it is not possible to make any distinctions between worse and better dictatorships, regardless of the intentions and ideas accompanying their imposition. In totalitarian regimes even the best intentions turn into the infamous steps to hell.

In this sense the countries of Central and Eastern Europe are still very close to the victorious year of 1945, the year of liberation, which was above all the year of great hope.

Our present hope is linked to the building of a free and open democratic society and to integration into the community of highly developed democratic nations.

We are well aware of the fact that this is not and will not be a simple and easy path to follow. Many remnants of recent, as well as wartime totalitarian attitudes, are found on this path and we cannot avoid or simply ignore them—we must wrestle with them, we must find ways to overcome them. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Meciar Dissociates Republic From Fascist Past

LD0605215995 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tens of thousands of Bratislava citizens and people from all over the Slovak Republic gathered at Bajkalska Street shortly before midday today. Leading state officials took their places at the platform: President Michal Kovac, Speaker Ivan Gasparovic, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, deputies of the National Council, ministers and diplomats, and foreign and national guests. The main address was delivered by Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar. He said, among other things:

[Begin Meciar recording] [passage omitted] This phase of history that took place on our territory must not be ignored because we must learn from our past mistakes or we may commit new ones. There is no need to turn history into hysteria. Present policy should not be formulated on the basis of turning history into a political matter. [passage omitted]

The fact that the Slovak Republic existed as a state entity in the 1939-45 period is forcing us to reemphasize that our present state is neither identical nor linked to the experience of fascism on our territory—be it the form of its emergence, democratic structure, or territory—and it dissociates itself from it.

The Slovaks were not strong enough to stop fascism but in the moment of choice they chose the struggle against fascism in the name of moral principles and humanity. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Meciar Interviewed on Treaties, Intelligence Report

LD0705090695 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 5 May 95

[Interview with Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar by Jarmila Tosecka from the "Friday Afternoon With Radio" program—live or recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Tosecka] Remarks about the fragility of your coalition government are heard with increasing frequency. In your view, Prime Minister, how stable is the coalition? It is true that the little storm caused by the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] has ended now, but the government is facing its main test in connection with the ratification of the Slovak-Hungarian treaty, as the Slovak National Party [SNS] is opposed to it in principle and it is hardly possible to expect support from the opposition, perhaps on principle. Euphoria, above all abroad, brought about by the signing of the treaty might consequently turn sour to our disadvantage.

[Meciar] Your question touches on a number of problems; let us attempt to answer them one at a time.

Slovakia needs political reconciliation. In order to achieve it, Slovakia needs the cooperation that will bring about such reconciliation. Following the elections, we have offered such cooperation already several times, but we have not received any positive response to this. The government coalition tackles its tasks well and, as you are aware, no serious problems have emerged in the cabinet's work. [passage omitted]

The government coalition has a parliamentary majority. If any party wants to join us, the opportunity is there. If, however, they subscribe to the idea that if Slovakia is suffering, then all the better for them, then they are damaging our state, damaging our citizens. It is our duty, as members of the government coalition, to defend the government and state interests against them—naturally not on the principle of class hatred, but on the basis of a cool head and a matter-of-fact discussion.

[Tosecka] Allow me to return to the Slovak-Hungarian treaty. [passage omitted]

[Meciar] The discussion of the treaty by the National Council of the Slovak Republic is important for foreign countries—the ratification of the treaty, but also for our country's internal scene—not breaking the government coalition. The attitude of the Slovak National Party [SNS] is really one of principle; they will not support the treaty in parliament.

Therefore, the talks in which I am currently engaged with this political party are aimed at finding out if their attitude weakens the government coalition or not, if in the event of the treaty's ratification they consequently leave the government coalition or whether they stay on. In this situation, I naturally cannot afford to link the treaty to a possible governmental crisis. This is why I have been taking preventive measures to prevent a government crisis from taking place. Once this phase of my job is over—and this will not take much longer—I will embark on talks with other political entities about who will support the treaty.

Taking it a bit further, other political parties which at first expressed themselves in favor of the treaty have now assumed a wait-and-see attitude, approaching this not as a factual problem of the treaty but in the spirit of the possibility of successfully bringing about a governmental crisis through this. This is why on this issue, I follow a sober and deliberate course of action. I welcome the steps taken by Budapest, and we are working hard toward achieving ratification of the treaty by the National Council of the Slovak Republic. We would welcome a similar process involving relations between Romania and Hungary.

[Tosecka] Aside from the issue of Slovak-Hungarian relations, the other priority for us, for Slovakia, are relations with the Czech Republic. We have not been surprised or taken aback by the latest reports from Prague about preparations to abrogate the Czech-Slovak payments agreement, as this step has been considered already in the past. All the same, Prime Minister, are you going to look for ways of preserving the agreement or amending it in a way to suit both sides?

[Meciar] There are a number of problems here. No final solution has been found so far as regards division of the Federation's assets. Our attitude to this issue is clear—we want our gold and the Bojnice altarpiece returned and to agree on the zero option. Providing the Czech side accepts this solution, agreement is possible. In case they reject this, the Slovak side has an option of outlining its claims now—the Czech side has already done so—and I would like to point out that our claims would be higher than the Czech claims. This is why we have proposed to settle this dispute on a certain level, to bring it to an end.

The other issue concerns payments between us. Two accounts exist here. On one of them, on the so-called old bloc, the accounts are settled applying a one-to-one exchange rate. [passage omitted] Since 1994 we have been in favor of abrogating this agreement. [passage omitted: it is not easy to reach a new agreement] The Czech side must consider what they would put in place of the clearing account agreement if they abrogate it unilaterally. [passage omitted]

The other issue is the Customs Union, which we think is capable of fulfilling its role. The payments agreement is, however, a part of the Customs Union's implementation.

If the Czech Government decides to take its own steps, it is fully entitled to do so. It has to take into account, however, that today we are a sovereign state, and in such a situation we are at least expected to react. Such a reaction would be a deliberate, not a hostile reaction, but all the same a reaction.

[Tosecka] My other question is linked to the deliberations of the National Council of the Slovak Republic. This morning, the deputies have been discussing in closed session a report by the Special Control Body [OKO] about the activities of the Slovak Intelligence Service [SIS]. You are well aware that the truthfulness of your statements about the SIS was sometimes doubted, Prime Minister. Who is proved right by the OKO's report delivered in parliament today? Are you aware of the report?

[Meciar] I was not present at parliamentary deliberations, I did not hear the final version of the text. At this stage, however, I know substantially more about the facts referred to in the report than when I delivered my address in parliament. Not only did the report prove me fully right, but it has further developed these issues, supplying names, information, and service numbers of SIS employees. This is also why the report is secret, as it reveals the SIS's internal structure and system of work. The report fully confirmed that all the things I spoke about were fully substantiated. The people who carried out those tasks and those who ordered them to do so, as well as those who received and used the information, are identified by the report. [passage omitted: Meciar complains that some deputies insist that the SIS has not done anything seriously wrong and goes on to complain about attacks on his movement]

The Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] is the movement of the founders of our state; this movement has given a constitution and sovereignty to Slovakia and is shaping its economy, shaping the way people are living here. Why are we attacked as if we are class enemies? It is only logical that our officials and those who voted for us say: we have had enough, and they call for political conclusions to be drawn against those responsible for all this.

The day after my address, a certain gentleman [President Michal Kovac] took the floor in parliament and in his speech admitted his responsibility. As it is now proven that I was right, a conclusion should finally be drawn from this, assuming political responsibility, apologizing to our citizens, and making way for others.

Meciar Discusses Privatization Funds' Problems

LD0705201795 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1630 GMT 7 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Those waiting for the launch of the second wave of coupon privatization probably found interesting last week's press report about a seminar on business ethics and about the administration of the property of the investment funds' shareholders. Antonin Kuric, head of the Office of the Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property, said in this report that the property offered for the second wave of coupon privatization will be increased to at least 60 billion Slovak korunas [Sk]. My colleague Jarmila Tosecka directly asked Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar whether this is true.

[Begin recording] [Tosecka] What do you think about the petitions collected under the slogan "For Just Coupon Privatization" and what can you tell us about the latest report that the property offered in the second wave of coupon privatization will be raised from the present Sk34 billion to Sk60 billion?

[Meciar] I do not comprehend why we should be talking about just coupon privatization, because this is only one of the forms of privatization. After all, we want the whole privatization to be just. But let us explain what is actually going on in this respect.

The privatization funds, which are buying what is owned by the investment coupon holders or by the coupon book proprietors, have made certain investments in the coupon privatization and want to take control over this property. What was offered to them by the government is not enough. The funds are therefore entering politics, and to this end they are using political parties, such as the Party of the Democratic Left, the Social Democratic Party, or the trade unions. They are beginning to exert pressure on the government to increase the allocations to the funds. The government says that increased allocations to the funds would mean cutting short the allocations to the power generating industry. At the same time, price increases are looming everywhere. Restructuring of the capital assets of the properties offered for privatization has to be carried out. All this costs billions of korunas. At the present time we do not have the funds to cover this expenditure.

Thus the government had to restrict the property on offer for privatization and, with regard to privatization forms, it places strong emphasis on the fact that the privatization will be carried out not only in coupon form, but there will also be direct sales and public tenders for the employees who work in the factories.

This gives rise to the following paradox: On the one hand we are being accused of creating a Slovak bourgeoisie; on the other hand, a situation which cannot be kept under control is developing within the funds. These funds represent a few groupings of a few persons who are taking control of the property and who are, in effect, using the funds to channel this property out of the country. This property is not destined to remain in Slovakia. [passage omitted]

That is why those who are saying that they want to concentrate property in the hands of (?several) privatization funds are trying to prevent the property being handed over to the employees, or rather to be sold to them. [passage omitted]

And so, this is where the entire objective of our privatization lies. The property will be in private hands. It will take place on the basis of a broad consesus of citizens. It will not, however, involve a handful of privatization funds. It will involve the broadest possible number of people.

[Tosecka] And the 60 billion?

[Meciar] That was not exact information—the Sk40 billion limit remains. [end recording]

AV Rt Allegedly Gave Budapest Bank Funds

LD0705113695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0505 GMT 7 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Budapest Bank has been in the news this past week. First, reports mysteriously leaked out that shares with a nominal value of 400 million forints and a market value of 700 million, had inexplicably disappeared. Even stranger was the fact that these shares could not be sold on the open market, as we will hear in a minute.

The other mysterious Budapest Bank transaction was not a matter of stealing from the bank. On the contrary, it was reported that the State Assets Management Joint Stock Company [AV Rt] clandestinely increased the bank's stock of capital by an extra 12 billion forints. It did so by bypassing financial and banking regulations. [passage omitted]

The former chairman-managing director of the bank is Lajos Bokros, Hungary's current finance minister. Sandor Kopatsy, economist and former member of the Board of Directors of the State Assets Agency, the sister body of AV Rt, felt compelled to speak to our correspondent, Peter Vince.

[Begin Kopatsy recording] [Passage omitted] Stealing shares from a bank is a bad joke. [passage omitted] After all, no broker would deal with stolen shares. The serial numbers and owners are registered and the disappearance is detected immediately, so anyone who might have thought that these shares were worth 700 million forints was too naive for words. These shares were not worth 7 million because they could not be placed on the open market. So I think that the man was either very naive or very clever. He wanted to get news, not money, out of this. He wanted to give a bad name to the former bank of the current finance minister. [passage omitted]

Regarding the clandestine increase of the bank's capital, I am outraged that, at a time when public opinion is stirred up, anxiety and panic are caused by cuts in social welfare allowance. The same amount of money that is to be saved by the cut can be handed over to a bank, quietly and under the table. The dirty aspect of it is that it can be done secretly. [passage omitted] A huge amount like this could not have been granted to the bank without the finance minister's knowledge.

The government's personnel policy was very mistaken in having appointed ministers from the banking world. It is especially suspect now, when we have two scandals on our hands at the Budapest Bank and two ministers who are former Budapest Bank employees. Remember that Tamas Suchman [current minister in charge of privatization] was also director of a Budapest Bank's Marcali branch. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Opposition Leader Demands Bokros Resign

LD0705120695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 7 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] press briefing today, Ivan Szabo, leader of the MDF group of parliamentary deputies, summed up the joint session of the party's deputies and presidium in Lakitelek, which took place on Friday and Saturday, and discussed the scandal surrounding the Budapest Bank. [passage omitted] Edit Shrantz reports:

[Shrantz] Ivan Szabo said that Finance Minister Lajos Bokros must resign if reports that the Budapest Bank received 12 billion forints from the government prove to be true. The MDF will initiate the establishment of a parliamentary commission of enquiry. Szabo said that the whole affair of the money transfer was suspect because otherwise the government would not have handled it in secret. After all, the Budapest Bank had already received 15 billion following the bank-consolidation decision in 1993, he said, adding that the step was taken then in order to allow banks that were facing bankruptcy over bad debts, to regain their footing. Eight months after the allocation of that 15 billion, the Budapest Bank received this 12 billion, Szabo said. He pointed out that the bank's management should have been dismissed immediately and without compensation when it became clear that within eight months, they again brought the bank to the verge of bankruptcy. Instead, the bank's chairman was appointed minister of finance, the MDF politician remarked.

Szabo said the Hungarian state cannot afford to allow Budapest Bank to go bankrupt because the bank finances big enterprises and its liquidation would have a domino effect and would cause job losses in the tens of thousands. [passage omitted]

Szekeres: Bokros Should Not Resign Before Inquiry

LD0905092695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 9 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The parliamentary deputy group leader of the Hungarian Socialist Party [Imre Szekeres] hopes the finance minister [Lajos Bokros] does not have to resign over the scandal at Budapest Bank.

Asked by Daybreak, an early morning program on Hungarian television, Imre Szekeres said that for the opposition to demand Lajos Bokros's resignation before an investigation has proved whether or not irregularities took place—in connection with the government support of 12 billion forints to Budapest Bank—is irresponsible conduct

He said: It is harmful for democracy if a person who turns out to have made a mistake remains in a leading position, but it is even more harmful that the opposition is urging the resignation of the finance minister, who is playing a key role in the recovery of the economy, before the investigation.

Bank Denies State Money Used To Cover Losses

LD0805123695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a press briefing this morning the leaders of the Budapest Bank said that the bank did not have a loss last year and that it was given government financial support so that it could be handed over to the private sector under better terms. Eva Soos reports:

[Soos] The Budapest Bank's capital reserves position is stable, its liquidity is suitable, and the bank is able to honor its payment obligations. This is what the bank's managing director Bela Sinkovics said, denying the latest charges against the bank. He said it is not true that the bank is operating at a loss, although he added that that had been the case at some point in 1993. The pretax profit at the end of 1994 was 2.5 billion forints, he said.

The much-talked-about capital injection of 12 billion forints did not improve the bank's result, nor was there a need for improvement—the managing director said. The money was needed to facilitate privatization and to achieve a significant increase in the price of the bank.

Regarding the other recent revelation about the bank—the disappearance of 400 million forints worth of shares—Bela Sinkovics said that it was a criminal act: The shares were taken by the bank's safekeeper. The police are investigating the causes that might have influenced him in taking the shares.

Bank Denies Getting 'Secret Government Handout'

LD0805132795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] At a press briefing the National Savings Bank [OTP] outlined its preparation for privatization. Gyorgyi V. Nagy reports:

[Nagy] The OTP's own assets have grown by 50 percent over the past two years and in 1994 it posted a 7 billion forints profit after tax. Laszlo Torok, deputy managing director of the country's largest savings bank, told journalists. He said that the bank achieved this by relying on its own resources but it had a price—the bank's share of the market was reduced to 30 percent.

He said that the bank received 5 billion forints' worth of subordinated loan capital on which it pays 30 percent interest, and the Ministry of Finance raised the bank's capital reserve by 5 billion forints. This latter sum will prove to be a good investment for the state because the date for selling the bank is moving ever closer. This was his way of saying that the OTP did not get a secret government handout.

According to the bank's privatization plans, the state will sell its 20 percent shareholding to institutional investors before the summer of 1995, but the open domestic sale of shares will also start before the end of June. The shares will be sold on the stock exchange, too. The Social Insurance Fund bodies will be able to buy 10 percent of the shares, each, while bank managers and employees may obtain five percent of the shares.

Bank Official Arrested in Connection With Imports

LD0905082695 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0700 GMT 9 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] According to newspaper reports, the police will propose to magistrates that they order that the chairman of Agrobank [Mihaly Kovacs] remain in custody because they suspect that Kovacs has started to illegally transfer his assets abroad.

The chairman was detained yesterday [8 May] for allegedly ordering the illegal import of gold and silver worth 345 million forints.

As of today, the State Banking Inspectorate [Allami Bankfeluegyelet] has ordered a ban on placing deposits at the bank and forbidden it to make payments. The inspectorate has also set limits on the bank's other services. Two new executors have been named to head the bank because the inspectorate is concerned that the bank's solvency may be endangered. Peter Kunos, managing director of the bank, described the measure as hasty.

Goncz on 'Guilty Conscience' Over World War II

LD0805102095 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] According to the President Arpad Goncz, Hungary need not have a sense of guilt for having been the last henchman of Hitler's Germany in World War II.

[Begin Goncz recording] We must get rid of the guilty conscience in any case—all the more so because, since then, a generation has grown up who played no role in this at all. [passage omitted]

As a result of mistaken judgments and ideology, Hungary was on the wrong side in World War II, but the main factor determining the role Hungary played was, nonetheless, a geographical one. We know where it led; however, the statute of limitations exists not only in law but in history, too. I think that in this respect reconciliation and the statute of limitations apply together in Hungary's case. [end recording]

Horn Stresses Peace at V-E Day Ceremony

LD0705160295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 7 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Never, since the end of World War II, has cooperation and the establishment of peace in Europe been as important as now. This was said by Prime Minister Gyula Horn at a ceremony held in the parliament building for the veterans of the national resistance movement on the occasion of V-E Day.

The prime minister also called attention to the fact that extremist political trends have been on the increase all over Europe and this is why the aims of the Hungarian resistance fighters are still valid after 50 years.

Assembly Speech Honors War Heroes, Victims

LD0805154395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1230 GMT 8 May 95

[Speech by Hungarian National Assembly Speaker Zoltan Gal to the National Assembly in Budapest—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Esteemed House, let me recall a historical anniversary. The unprecedentedly extensive and destructive war in Europe, which ended with a complete defeat of fascism, came to an end 50 years ago. We might ask whether we are allowed to celebrate this day as a victory because, after all, the Hungarian state of that time took part in this war from 1941 to December 1944 as a member of the so-called Axis Powers. We can answer that question with a yes.

Our right to celebrate now was bought by our army, democratically reorganized in 1945, and by, above all, the Hungarian heroes and martyrs of the resistance, as well as by those thousands of our compatriots who fought in the Allied armies or in European partisan movements also fighting for Hungary's freedom and independence.

When we pay respect to the Hungarian heroes and martyrs of the nations' struggle for freedom, we also pay homage to the memory of the soldiers of the Allied forces—to the more than 100,000 sons of the Russian, Ukrainian, Romanian, Bulgarian, and other nations who heroically lost their lives on Hungarian soil. They deserve respect and gratitude, no matter which nation's sons they were and regardless of the way in which the fate of the world, Hungary's included, had been shaped by the war.

We must remember with respect our soldiers who were dragged into, and lost their lives in, a war alien to our national interests; the Hungarian Army's forced labor servicemen; the Hungarian victims of the holocaust; those dragged into captivity and the civilian victims of the war. Every victim was a loss to the nation. [passage omitted]

Esteemed National Assembly, let us remember and pay our respects with one minute of silence to the heroes and martyrs of the war.

Official on Effectiveness of Local Ethnic Bodies

AU0505132695 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 May 95 p 3

[Interview with Janos Wolfart, chairman of the Office of National and Ethnic Minorities, by Levente Fazekas; place and date not given: "The Elections Did Not Remain the National Minorities' Own Private Affair"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Fazekas] What results did implementation of the current stage of the national minority law bring?

[Wolfart] If we look at this issue on the basis of figures, I find the stage that has just ended to have been very successful, because the elections of local national minority bodies in fall of 1994 were characterized by more initiatives than expected. Many candidates were mobilized, and the elections brought many more votes than the number of Hungarian citizens eligible to vote for national minority bodies. This means that coexistence is adequate in Hungary. Hungarian society was not indifferent to this initiative, and the elections did not remain the private affair of national minorities. If we approach the issue from another angle, it is still too difficult to evaluate the situation. The effectiveness of these self-governing bodies can only be examined on the basis of long-term information. Now comes the stage of autonomy assertion, and this will show the extent to which these self-governing bodies can effectively represent the interests of their national minorities. [passage omitted]

[Fazekas] When will the national minorities have parliamentary representation?

[Wolfart] The issue of parliamentary representation for national minorities has generally not been solved in Europe. There are hardly any solutions containing political advantages. With the exception of Slovenia, the parliamentary representation of ethnic Hungarians living in neighboring countries is not connected to any political advantages. In the case of our neighbors, Hungarian candidates get into parliament in the general election system. In Hungary, where we have a one-chamber parliament, it is very difficult to represent the national minorities, which are generally living in small numbers scattered all over the country, with the exception of the Gypsy population. Those who make some kind of mystery out of this parliamentary representation are mistaken. It is a fact, however, that we have not yet succeeded in solving this problem. At the same time, national minorities are not excluded from the legislature and the preparation of laws, because the national self-governing bodies can express their views on the draft regulations that affect the national minorities. I hope we will be able to find a temporary solution to this problem during the course of the current parliamentary cycle.

[Fazekas] What solution do you have in mind?

[Wolfart] I can only describe my own personal idea about this. I think the members of the general meeting of national minority self-governing bodies should delegate one person. Of course, their authority should be precisely determined: namely, what is identical and what is different from the authority of parliamentary deputies who got into the parliament from individual constituencies or on a party list. [passage omitted]

[Fazekas] Do you think hatred of the Gypsy population will increase after their self-governing bodies begin work?

[Wolfart] It could happen, but I very much hope that this will not be the general trend. Tensions and conflicts in villages and towns have very different origins. There are family conflicts, tensions between various parts of the respective village that originate from the fact that the various areas did not develop in the same way, and so on. These conflicts sometimes take on an ethnic form, but they are not ethnic in content. National minority self-governing bodies might even become the target of ethnic hatred. However, these bodies are qualified to put the controversial issues on the agenda and, together with the local authorities, clarify them. I would like to see these debates not held in the taverns and on the street. One should not be afraid of controversy, but tensions and conflicts should not be denied. [passage omitted]

Ethnic Romanian 'Self-Government' Elects Chairman

LD0605211295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today the leadership of the national self-government of the Romanians living in Hungary was established. Eva Cseh reports:

[Cseh] Janos Budai, headmaster of the (Nikolai Bolcescu) Romanian Secondary Grammar School in Gyula, was elected chairman of the national self-government of the Romanians of Hungary. The 20,000-25,000 ethnic Romanians living in Hungary set up 11 local minority self-governments, seven of which are in Bekes county. [passage omitted] The most important goal of the national Romanian minority self-government—which is based in Gyula, where it hopes to make its headquarters soon—is to unify the ethnic Romanians who live scattered all over the country. [passage omitted]

Process of Opening Border-Crossing Site Initiated

LD0705195795 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1600 GMT 7 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mayors of towns and villages in the Ipoly [River border] area have initiated the opening of the Ipolytarnoc-Kalonda border crossing point. Arpad Zengoe reports.

[Zengoe] Signed by 32 Slovak and Hungarian mayors in the Ipoly river area, the statement repeats and confirms an earlier demand for the opening of the Ipolytarnoc-Kalonda border crossing point by this autumn. The document will be sent to the prime ministers of the two countries. A campaign has been trying to achieve this for five years. This time it seems that the campaign might lead to results, because the former customs office's barrack at Kalonda will be rebuilt and ready for use by August. In principle, there is no obstacle to the opening of the border crossing point. However, this is only true in principle. The mayors signed another appeal, because they have a feeling that they are witnessing new delaying tactics.

The Slovak Transport Ministry says that there is no money for the reconstruction of the road between the border and Rapp [Rapovce—a village on the Slovak side] and the Interior Ministry is not able to pay the wages of the border guard and customs officers for this year.

However, the real fear is that the matter of the border crossing point is subject to a political game in both countries, it has been said.

Shifts in Party Preferences Viewed

AU0805173295 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 5 May 95 p 4

[Article by Istvan Stumpf: "The Socialists Are in a Mess"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Hungarian voters' party preferences are again changing one year after the parliamentary elections. Sociological surveys clearly showed that most citizens are uncertain about choosing a party and their party links are weak. The dangers inherent in the uncertain electoral attitude appeared mainly among the supporters of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP]. The socialist leaders were aware of the fact that they won the elections thanks to votes protesting the Antall-Boross government and the revaluation of relative public prosperity before the change in the regime. It took almost half a year for the party to decide that it is ready to pay the political price of social and economic decisions accompanied by serious social tensions, namely the plummeting loss in popularity.

Although the next elections are still far off and nothing indicates the need to hold extraordinary elections, the changes among MSZP supporters are not only important from the viewpoint of the party itself.

We can find a lot of hidden bombshells within the extremely inflated camp of MSZP supporters. The fact that this camp contains the largest proportion of uncertain voters among political parties (58 percent) is a timebomb. The critical attitude toward the prevailing government coupled with hopes for improving living standards played a considerable role in the party choice motivation of this type of voter. One could predict that these voters would abandon the MSZP if their hopes for a better future fail to materialize. The other big problem facing the MSZP is whether it is able to keep the relatively large number of "new identity" voters, people who became strong supporters of the MSZP on the eve of the elections. Most of these people voted in favor of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] in 1990, but more than one-tenth of these people supported the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] before. The influence of upgrading the state socialist past on party preferences appeared even more clearly among these strata of the population. It appears that this group of voters—of lower educational level and belonging to the lower strata of the society, a group mostly made up of women—is pursuing the object of its new identity in the person of Jozsef Torgyan [Smallholders' Party chairman].

In addition to the uncertainties present in the composition of its supporters according to types of voters, the MSZP also faces a difficult problem caused by the contradictions inherent in the social character of its supporters. As has already transpired from previous analyses, both the winners and the losers of the change in the regime expressed confidence in the MSZP. Some 50 percent of both skilled workers and people in leading positions supported the MSZP. Actually, the MSZP supporters camp is based on two social groups of opposing interests, something that has hindered the clear representation of the party's position in government decisions for a long time. The acceptance of and support for the Bokros-program makes it very difficult for people forced into the periphery of society to parry the negative effects of this program. All this makes the lower strata of the Hungarian society feel disappointed with the MSZP and makes them drift into the Smallholders leader's camp, who often makes use of social demagogy. All this also causes tension among the trade unions, one of the major allies of the MSZP. The tensions prevailing in the traditional MSZP supporters camp might also make people in leading positions, entrepreneurs, and managers become uncertain, people who mostly support economic modernization measures, because these tensions can easily lead to weakening the political will that supports this package.

The results of the Szonda-Ipsos opinion poll survey of April 1995 show that the MSZP lost a lot of support among students, middle-aged people, people in leading positions, and especially intellectuals. As a result, the number of pensioners among MSZP supporters further increased (46 percent at the moment); most of these people are totally defenseless against inflation and other negative economic effects. On the basis of past experience, the departure of young people and intellectuals is an important signal attesting to the restructuring of a party's base of supporters.

This change in the camp of supporters and a drop in the party leaders' popularity could considerably contribute to an increase in conflicts and fault lines within a party and its parliamentary faction. In the immediate future, we can expect the strongest conflicts to develop between deputies who made it into Parliament from individual districts and the party leadership. The political tension between the individual deputies that convey social dissatisfaction and the need to support the Bokros program by all means will peak at the MSZP congress scheduled for this autumn and in the course of the parliamentary debate on new austerity measures.

Expected Changes in Housing Policy Detailed

95CH0217B Budapest BESZELO in Hungarian 6 Apr 95 p 11

[Unattributed article: "The Down-Scaling of Housing Construction"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

The Housing Construction Package of the 12 March Government Package

In the two issues of BESZELO preceding this issue, we abundantly reported on and analyzed planned constraints on the provision of social benefits. We have not yet reported on anticipated changes in housing construction support.

The stimulation of housing construction by providing various types of subsidies is a favored means used in the course of implementing government endeavors to boost the economy. On the other hand, because of restrictions imposed on the reimbursement of general sales taxes paid after construction expenses (indiscriminately implemented as a result of other endeavors by governments to increase state budget revenues), the inclination of the populace to engage in housing construction has been reduced to an extent that it warrants concern.

As a result of these measures only two-thirds of the amount of the so-called social policy benefit earmarked for housing construction could be utilized in 1993. This has happened even though this subsidy, this modest gift provided by the budget, could be taken advantage of by practically anyone buiilding or purchasing a new home who had a child or a dependent family member, because the so-called allowable housing need was spelled out—and at a rather high level at that. (A lower threshold limit was also established: A three-member family building a one-room home was not eligible to receive support.) The related government decree defined the cost of an allowable new home as 2.5 times the amount of the average construction costs that prevailed in the previous year. Considering an allowable three-room home in the case of a family of four, this amounted to 9.5 million forints in Budapest and 8 million forints in the countryside in 1994, and to 11.4 million forints and 9.8 million forints, respectively, in 1995.

The government significantly increased the amount of the social policy benefit while Bekesi served as finance minister, despite the fact that Bekesi advocated fiscal constraint. From that point on, the state budget contributed 200,000 forints to housing construction, instead of the previous 50,000 forints per child reared in a family engaged in home construction. Moreover, a model for the desirable family size was established by providing one million forints each for the second and third child, instead of the previous 150,000 and 400,000 forints. (State contributions based on other dependent family members remained unchanged, at the 30,000 forint level.)

With due regard to the increased costs, the 1995 state budget allocated 20 billion forints for this purpose, doubling the amount projected in 1994. (In 1994, a total of 16,318 families were able to take advantage of social policy or housing construction subsidies; in January 1995, in the course of a single month, 1,593 families did so.)

The best proof of the fact that the subsidy called social policy also boosted inclinations to build is the circumstance that one and the same family was able to take advantage of the subsidy based on the same child several times, as long as it built a larger, more expensive home within the allowable limits. The OTP [National Savings Bank], which administers the social policy subsidy, examined this matter in January 1995, and found that 39 percent of Budapest residents and 51 percent of residents in the countryside receiving housing construction subsidies had also received previously received social policy subsidies for housing construction purposes. The fact that the framework of this social policy benefit was somewhat broad can be demonstrated by the average construction costs of the claimants. The last such data available to the OTP pertains to 1993. Construction budgets submitted in that year indicate an average cost of 2.6 million forints per housing unit, while in the same year the allowable social policy limit for a family of three building a home in the countryside was 5.9 million forints.

The 12 March government package also includes a substantial narrowing of the social policy support for housing construction. First, the new rules would discontinue the opportunity for the repeated use of the benefit. Money could be obtained only once based on one and the same child.

Second, the new rules would reduce by half the allowable cost limit: Instead of 2.5 times the average construction costs of the previous year, only 1.25 percent of the previous year's average construction costs could be subsidized. This means that increases in subsidies would not match the anticipated inflation rate, and in the case of the previously mentioned family of four engaged in construction, of the 9.8 million- and 11.4 million-forint construction cost recognized in 1995 thus far, only 4.9 million and 7.2 million forints would be recognized, insofar as those wanting to take advantage of the social policy benefit are concerned. Moreover, the new rules would also establish an upper income limit beyond which no social policy support would be available.

This budget support given to families engaged in construction is obviously beyond the reach of low- and middle-income families who have no assets that can be turned into cash. (We wish to stress once again: The social policy benefit can be obtained only by persons earning more than what is specified as a certain standard income level.) [sentence as published] It is rather absurd that no institutional solution has been provided for persons incapable of satisfying the standard requirement for income level since the termination of state rental housing construction. Even in regard to members of the respectable middle strata, it would be absurd to permit the use of taxpayers' money to contribute to the construction of homes if the subsequent ownership of that home renders the family ineligible to receive the family supplement, for example. (According to the latest plans, one such exclusionary circumstance would be real property valued at more than 10 million forints.)

If the lower threshold limit remained unchanged and if the government radically reduced the upper limitation, the savings could amount to much more than the planned 9.5 billion forints, because under those conditions no one would be eligible to take, or capable of taking, advantage of the housing construction social policy subsidy.

President Complains to UN, NATO About Sarajevo

LD0705164195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 7 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In response to the latest shelling of Sarajevo's Butmir district, Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic has sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali and NATO Secretary General Willy Claes.

The letter says: Sarajevo was shelled today again. At least 10 people were killed and five times that many were wounded by (?one) shell fired from Serb positions. Sarajevo has been targeted by banned weapons for a long time. Every day we bury the victims of this public and obvious crime against civilians. Security Council Resolution 900 and the NATO ultimatum of 9 February last year banned attacks against Sarajevo under the threat of counterattack. With all due respect, I feel I should ask you whether these documents are still valid or whether they are just paper tigers. If they are still valid, then do something. If they are not valid, say this to the residents of Sarajevo and the world, and tell them who put them out of effect. This silence is shameful, President Izetbegovic stressed in his letter.

Silajdzic Urges International Action on 'Genocide'

LD0705225395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 7 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Immediately after a meeting with French Ambassador Henry Jacolin, British Ambassador Brian Hopkinson, Iranian Ambassador Mohammad Ebrahim Taherian, Turkish Ambassador Sukru Tufan, the charge d'affaires of the U.S. Embassy in Bosnia-Herzegovina and a representative of the Italian Embassy, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic told journalists the following:

We have invited members of the diplomatic corps in Bosnia-Herzegovina to tell them that yet another massacre has taken place in Sarajevo. Our opinion is that the United Nations and NATO are not doing what they have promised they would do to implement UN resolutions. Our question put to the gentlemen from the diplomatic corps was whether their governments will do something or whether they will let us do something on our own. Any other option is tantamount to being an accomplice in the genocide against Bosnia-Herzegovina. Unless something is done, we will be forced to send a message to the people in these countries to stop their governments being accomplices in the genocide. By deciding to keep in force the arms embargo despite what has been happening over the past three years, they are abetting the genocide being committed against our people.

The aggressor's message to all those who are celebrating the victory over fascism today is: Fascism is very much alive today, Bosnia-Herzegovina Prime Minister Haris Silajdzic stated following the meeting with the diplomatic corps.

Zubak Protests 'Persecution' of Banja Luka Croats

LD0805173795 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosnia in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Deeply disturbed by the latest reports of organized persecution of the Croat population in the Banja Luka area, Kresimir Zubak, president of the Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina [and president of the Bosnian Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna], today lodged a vigorous protest with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for former Yugoslavia. The protest says:

I call on you to take resolute steps in line with your authority and responsibility to end the unjustified Serb-chetnik terror. We hope that you share my opinion that such acts do not help the peace process but give rise to tensions which could inevitably lead to an escalation of the conflict. Our joint aim and task of working methodically toward a peaceful resolution of the crisis has been seriously jeopardized. Because of the above mentioned I request that you carry out effective measures to stop the fascist terror campaign against the Croat and other non-Serb population in Banja Luka, and punish the culprits. I believe this is an occasion on which you have to be more energetic and persevering in your actions, above all avoiding the tragic and nonproductive position of keeping equal distance, the protest says.

Silajdzic: Sarajevo Being Strangulated

AU0805203395 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 May 95

[Report by Mediha Colo on the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic and Federation Government session in Sarajevo on 8 May—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Colo] Most of today's session of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic and Federation was devoted to the security and humanitarian situation in Sarajevo. The report was presented by Interior Minister Bakir Alispahic, who said that the situation in the Bosnia-Herzegovina Republic was deteriorating recently.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs has information that a large concentration of forces and equipment is still deployed around the besieged Bosnia-Herzegovina cities, particularly around Sarajevo, Minister Alispahic stressed.

[Alispahic] When it comes to Sarajevo, on top of everything already mentioned, the question of the airport is a particular problem, as it has both local and international implications. In the local sphere, the chetnik paralysis of the airport represents the blocking of the already modest humanitarian aid arriving in Sarajevo, while the international sphere is reflected in the fact that relevant factors are accepting the legitimacy and legality of Karadzic's parastate, since its representatives are dictating all the conditions surrounding this airport. [Word indistinct] the representatives of the international institutions do not have adequate instruments to treat the airport for what it is, an airport in an internationally recognized and sovereign state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has been handed over to the UN management. The realistic question is whether the United Nations truly does not have adequate instruments. There could be several answers to this question. [passage omitted]

[Colo] Despite the promises by the NATO representatives and President Clinton that the strangulation of Sarajevo will not be permitted, that is exactly what has been going on, through military and other forms of pressure, Prime Minister Silajdzic said.

[Silajdzic] We are in a situation where the NATO ultimatum has been practically annulled, since, according to the latest report, there are 225 artillery pieces around Sarajevo. These are 225 pieces that are not under UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] control, and (33) of these are (tanks). The NATO ultimatum no longer exists. It has been completely annulled thanks to the fact that the aggressor's soldiers have brought many of these pieces into the exclusion zone and seized some [words indistinct] so the ultimatum has been annulled. What happened to the promise that Sarajevo will not be strangulated, as they say? It is happening now. [passage omitted]

RS General Staff: Not Responsible for Massacre

LD0805120695 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 2330 GMT 7 May 95

[Received via fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sarajevo, 7 May (SRNA)—The General Staff of the Srpska republic army rejected every possibility of the Serb forces being responsible for today's alleged killing of eight people and wounding of 15 others in Butmir in the Muslim part of Sarajevo.

"Our units on the Sarajevo front did not carry out any artillery attacks and therefore I am rejecting every possibility of us being responsible for this alleged massacre," Lieutenant Colonel Milovan Milutinovic of the information service of the Srpska republic army General Staff said in a statement to SRNA.

Recalling that the Muslim authorities had earlier also sacrificed its own people's lives to achieve political goals, Lt. Col. Milutinovic assessed today's developments as "yet another attempt by the Muslim leadership to make the international community condemn the Serb side and provoke NATO action against the Serbs". [passage omitted]

Serbs Block UN Troops at Weapons Site

AU0805173895 Paris AFP in English 1721 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, May 8 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs Monday blocked the sole entrance and exit to a weapons collection point outside Sarajevo, trapping 16 Ukrainian UN troops in the base, the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said.

Around 15 separatist Serb soldiers placed three cars and two anti-tank mines across the only way in and out of the weapons collection point at 4:00 p.m. (1400 GMT) Monday, UNPROFOR spokesman Major Guy Vinet said. The base is situated at Krivoglavic, around eight kilometres (five miles) northwest of Sarajevo.

Twenty-three Serb heavy weapons, mostly mortars and anti-aircraft guns, are stored at the collection point. It is one of ten such centers created in February 1994 after the UN and NATO demanded that all weapons be taken out of a 20 kilometre (12.5 mile) radius of Sarajevo or stored. Nine of the facilities are for the Serbs, the 10th for the Bosnians.

The exclusion zone has never in practice been totally respected and the UN Monday put the number of Serb guns circulating in the zone at "well into the tens." The Bosnian Government put the number at 225.

On Sunday Serb gunners south of Sarajevo fired four or five mortars into the Butmir suburb, killing ten people and wounding dozens, according to the UN. It described the killings as an "unprovoked outrage" by the Serbs.

Smith Unable To Contact Mladic for Two Months

AU0805203195 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Passage omitted] According to the yet incomplete UN investigation, the [Sunday] attack [on Hrasnica] came from the aggressor's positions at Gavrica Brdo. These positions are known for being active, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] spokesman Column Murphy said at the news conference in Sarajevo.

Column Murphy said today that, regardless of how much this event represents a critical point, it is not the key test of our capacity on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the UN mandate.

Asked how many such attacks had to take place before the United Nations admitted that it was the key test, Murphy said: Every test is critical and hard. I cannot tell you anything more than I am prepared to say at this moment. We are analyzing this case, and after a complete investigation and an unambiguous conclusion as to where the shells were fired from, we will make the final decision as to how to condemn it. All the options remain open, Murphy said, and finally admitted that UNPROFOR has been unable to contact Pale.

General Smith has been unable to contact Mladic for over two months, it was said today. [passage omitted]

Koschnick Does Not Rule Out UN Withdrawal

LD0805123895 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1125 GMT 8 May 95

["Pool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bonn, May 8 (TANJUG)—The European Union administrator for the Bosnian town of Mostar, Hans Koschnick of Germany, said Monday that a U.N. pull-out from the Balkan region was possible.

In an interview with the German paper NEUEN OSNABRUECKER ZEITUNG, Koschnick expressed concern about the possible adverse effects of renewed fighting in Croatia on his work in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The withdrawal would affect not only Croatia but other war-torn areas as well. Spanish peacekeepers in Mostar would also pack their bags, Koschnick said adding that their withdrawal would make it impossible for him to continue his mission. Commenting on inter-ethnic relations between Croats and Muslims in Mostar, Koschnick said that there was an unthinkable lack of confidence between the two sides in the town.

The victims know their attackers well. They know that their neighbours, colleagues or relatives had sent them to concentration camps and had evicted them from their homes, Koschnick said.

NATO Not in Favor of Withdrawal From Bosnia

MS0905105095 London THE SUNDAY TELEGRAPH in English 7 May 95 p 22

[Report on interview with NATO Secretary General Willy Claes by Marcus Warren in London; date of interview not given]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] AS NATO's Secretary-General, a deeply anxious Willy Claes not only presides over the West's defence alliance at a time of unprecedented uncertainty about its wider role. He knows that, at any time, the situation in Bosnia and Croatia could deteriorate to the point where the United Nations' 36,000 troops on the ground would need to be evacuated.

Last week, as Croatian troops and rebel Serb forces headed towards the front amid new confrontation in Western Slavonia, NATO communications experts were "pre-positioned" in bases in the former Yugoslavia, Italy and Brussels as a preliminary to possible UN withdrawal. Oplan 40104, NATO-speak for the detailed evacuation blueprint, has already been drawn up.

It would require a huge expeditionary force, more than 50,000 men may be needed, which only NATO could provide.

"I am really preoccupied by the developments of the last few days. I fear that the Croatian Serbs will continue to take revenge for what happened," Mr Claes told The Sunday Telegraph during a visit to London.

But an escalation of the hostilities in Croatia would not necessarily rush NATO into retreat, he said. It could goad the UN and NATO together to adopt a more robust approach, including air strikes he added. "I am sure that the United Nations will undertake new efforts. Maybe the UN will ask NATO to push a bit."

For Mr Claes knows that any evacuation would be the most delicate and complicated logistical exercise Europe has seen in 50 years, fraught with the danger that the combatants would try to seize military hardware or use civilians to block the UN's escape routes.

It could also widen the rift in NATO between US and Europe. Most of the expeditionary force would inevitably be made up of Americans, and the sight of U.S. personnel escorting UN forces out of a morass which many in America believe is very much of the Europeans' making could further undermine transatlantic cohesion.

Another factor against withdrawal is the apparent confusion as to how the Yugoslav conflict can be localised once UN troops have been pulled out.

"NATO is not in favour of a withdrawal, because we do not see what the fall-back policy can be, how to avoid any enlargement of the crisis," Mr Claes said.

However, he stressed that, once the decision to withdraw has been taken, there can be no repeat of the tangled chains of command which have plagued relations between NATO and the UN. "NATO is only willing to undertake this operation if it has the lead," he said. "We cannot have two captains on the same bridge."

12,000 Refugees From Slavonia Registered

LD0705175495 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1727 GMT 7 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Banja Luka, May 7 (TANJUG)—More than 12,000 Serb refugees from Western Slavonia were registered in a Bosnian Serb refugee centre in Nova Topola until Sunday afternoon, Serb Krajina sources said.

ISKRA, the news agency of the republic of Serb Krajina, said that 5,500 of the refugees, who fled Western Slavonia after Croatia's aggression on that part of the Serb Krajina, have found shelter in a refugee camp in Nova Topola, about 30 km south of the town of Gradiska, on the border between the Srpska republic and the Serb Krajina.

Assistance to the Serb refugees in the Nova Topola refugee camp is provided by activists of the International Red Cross, the Yugoslav Red Cross, UNHCR and commissioners for refugees of the Srpska republic and the Serb Krajina.

In the Croatian aggression on western Slavonija launched on Monday, at least 1,000 Serb civilians were killed and 1,700 men (civilians and soldiers) arrested, Serb Krajina sources said.

Karadzic, Mladic Touring Posavina Corridor

AU0805190695 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] We have learned from the Information Service of the [Bosnia-Herzegovina Army] 2d Corps that the chetnik artillery fired today at the free Zvornik territory. The defense lines in (?Lanica), (Visoka Glavica), and Bezimeni Vis were targeted by 122-mm howitzers located in the occupied Vlasenica. The enemy forces also carried four successive infantry attacks on our lines, but they were all repulsed without any losses in our ranks.

The aggressor was active on the Kladanj front, where our forces were targeted by mortars of all calibers, while in Brcko there were mostly sporadic mortar attacks by the aggressor and small arms fire. From the area of Sekulici, an enemy tank fired at the positions of our forces in Bajici. There was small arms fire and flak on the other Brcko defense lines.

That the aggressor is again obsessed with the intention of widening the so-called Brcko corridor is confirmed by the very lively traffic along the Brcko-Bijeljina-Pelagicevo road. The visit by criminals Karadzic and Mladic to Obudovac, the important stronghold on the so-called Posavina corridor, is yet another signal that the aggressor is preparing another offensive [word indistinct], report Hamid Deronjic and Nihad Salihodzic via the 2d Corps Information Service.

Problems Among Serb Leadership Viewed

AU0805193195 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 1 May 95 pp 13-15

[Article by Filip Svarm: "A New Leaf in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After three full years of war and the refusal of all peace plans offered so far, the Bosnian Serb leaders are confronted with almost complete political isolation. Apart from the peacekeeping force representatives, dignitaries of the Serbian Orthodox Church are the only visitors to Pale. The latter agree on everything with the Pale leaders, so, during their latest visit to Pale, the Bosnian Serbs presented them with gold and silver Easter coins with the figure of the White Angel. There are no signs that the international community, because of disharmony within it, might relieve the pressure on the Bosnian Serbs; on the contrary, the pressure is stepped up, which is shown by UN Security Council Resolution 988. Karadzic's attempts to replace the Contact Group with new mediators have not borne fruit either. Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, who Karadzic relied on in this context, informed him that "he did not know what he could do, since the Bosnian Government was not ready to negotiate." And finally, the Serbian president is not even thinking of becoming "the old Milosevic." [sentence as published]

It seems that military luck is also turning its back on the Bosnian Serbs. After Mount Vlasic was taken, the members of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina also pushed the Army of the Srpska republic back on Mt. Treskavica, thus coming closer to the important road connecting Sarajevo and Foca. Clashes on the Majevica, Doboj and Brcko battlefields have also intensified. The Bosnian Army 5th Corps is again on the offensive on Mt. Pljesivica in the Bihac pocket; its members have, for the first time, rocketed the important relay staion and television transmitter on Gola Pljesivica. At the moment, the Srpska republic army cannot find a solution to the fierce attacks launched by the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina simultaneously on different battlefields with the goal of recapturing the positions that are important for the control of the communications lines.

The problems the Serb Army has with both personnel and supplies is becoming increasingly evident.

It seems that military and civilian leaders of the Bosnian Serbs have split during the search for an answer to the question "And what now?" Mr. Karadzic thinks that things should continue as before, and that the international community or the Sarajevo government will give in sooner or later. General Mladic no longer seems to believe in this: He supports the thesis that optimum war objectives should be set that would be the basis for the negotiations on ending the war.

Consequently, their activities are different. Wishing to prove that if he does not get the concessions he wants, nothing will be achieved in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Karadzic announces "reciprocal behavior: Whatever the international community does against us, we shall do against it and our enemies, the Muslims." That is why, on the occasion of the adoption of UN Resolution 988, the Bosnian Serbs did not allow the Contact Group diplomats to leave Sarajevo airport and go into the city for talks with the leadership of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mr. Karadzic mentioned that he would think about whether he would allow the airport to be used even for humanitarian flights. All this should demonstrate his firmness and determination, but it rather shows that he does not shrink from using any means to draw the attention of the international community to himself.

The immediate effect of the night the international diplomats spent in sleeping bags at Butmir Airport was formulated by Alija Izetbegovic, the president of Bosnia-Herzegovina, who said that they had "a whole night to realize what the concessions made to the Bosnian Serbs so far have led to."

In contrast to Mr. Karadzic, who refuses to recognize the UN Security Council and threatens World War III, Gen. Mladic, accompanied by Borislav Mikelic, the Krajina prime minister, and Fikret Abdic, the leader of the new self-proclaimed republic of western Bosnia, met with Milosevic. It is not known what they talked about, it is only known that a Yugoslav Army lieutenant colonel took a bundle of maps into the building of the Serbian Presidency.

Did they discuss military and political problems and ask for military help or were the Contact Group maps (accepted in Belgrade) once again discussed as a possibility to "overcome" the present Serbian rift and the not-at-all brilliant situation on both sides of the Drina River? It is certain that Mikelic is Milosevic's most loyal Serb leader west of the Drina River and that Abdic's political destiny depends on Serbian interests. It is also certain that the Pale leaders did not know that this meeting would take place. Momcilo Krajisnik, the chairman of the Srpska republic assembly, did not succeed in relativizing the importance of that meeting, which, let it be mentioned, followed the conflict between the civilian and military leadership during the latest session of the assembly, by stating that Gen. Mladic often goes to Belgrade since his family lives there, so that the meeting was organized "spontaneously." Apart from that, it is really difficult to believe that Mladic could behave "spontaneously" as long as the offensive of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina on Mt. Treskavica was underway.

There are estimations that the meeting in Belgrade was a kind of pantomime for Mr. Karadzic (who has to believe what Gen. Mladic says the topic of discussion was) and a demonstration that it has come to a real rift between the military and civilian authorities in the Srpska republic. Many people see the investigation against Mr. Karadzic, Gen. Mladic, and Mico Stanisic, the former Serb Republic interior minister, following a proposal by Richard Goldstone, the prosecutor at the International Court for War Crimes in The Hague, is, however, interpreted by as a possibility for their reunion. Alexander Ivankov, the spokesman of the UN peacekeepers in Sarajevo, has already stated that the UN Protection Force is worried because of the possible consequences the charges with war crimes against Karadzic and Mladic could have on the peace process. It is considered that both of them, if they were put in a position where they had nothing to lose, could launch a desperate offensive for either victory or complete defeat, under the motto "What will be will be."

There is another interpretation of the consequences that the investigation against Karadzic and Mladic could have. This refers to Stanisic, who showed solidarity with Milosevic after the split between Belgrade and Pale and who accused many Pale leaders of crimes. This is interpreted in the way that no Pale official, if the Bosnian Serbs accept the Contact Group plan following the wish of Belgrade, will guarantee a peaceful future in the Srpska republic.

In other words, this could lead to political homogenization within the Serb Republic and, consequently, to restrictions on the opposition there. This can be seen from the statement issued by the Independent Deputies Club of the Serb republic assembly, in which it is stated that "this is another link in the chain of inconsistent, anti-Serbian decisions."

What will the future be like in the Srpska republic? On the one hand, there are increasing numbers of poor people suffering on battlefields, and on the other there is an increasingly rich class of "businessmen" within the civil authorities. The dissatisfied army is calling for the introduction of a state of war, accusing "businessmen" of opposing the war aims: Oil, as strategic raw material, goes to private gasoline stations, and the money earned in this way is invested in lucrative private business instead of for the purchase of weapons. A certain minister who has organized the production of a detergent and sells it in Serbia is mentioned in this context.

It is also believed that Gen. Mladic was able to calm the dissatisfaction in the army for a long time, but that he realized that he was doomed to failure with the civilian authorities, perhaps not at the moment, but in the near future.

A state in which less that 10 percent of the economy is functioning; in which "businessmen," instead of paying taxes, found their own military formations, among which crime and corruption flourish; in which ethnic cleansing is called national egalitarianism; and in which certain war crimes are the result of "international conspiracies and lies" really cannot win the war. For the extremely pragmatic reason of saving his own life, it matters little to Mladic to what extent he himself contributed to all this and what his own army has done.

If they still want to remain in power, both of them, Karadzic and Mladic, know that something must be changed. In his Easter address, Mladic called for "the deprivation that is necessary during the struggle until the victory is achieved," probably referring to the civilian "businessmen."

Karadzic probably sees the need to make changes in a different light; he does not even think of removing the people Mladic targetted from power, since they are his most important political and economic supporters.

In other words, he will fulfill the requirements of the army, since he is forced to do so for merely pragmatic reasons, but in no case in a disorganized and chaotic way, as communists would express it. He informed the people about his intentions in his Easter address on Serbian Radio-Television. Sitting in an armchair in front of the television cameras behind a coffee table on at which there were two baskets of Easter eggs, Mr. Karadzic broke the first egg with the host.

The "four S" sign was painted on his egg, and it is only natural that it broke the other one. Only to let everybody know who's boss. Then came the real address:

1. Local authorities (communes) will not any longer finance their (local) units as in the past, but they will remit the money to the government, the government to the ministry, the ministry to the General Staff, and the General Staff to the units.

2. The army will have priority regarding finances and supplies. Wages and salaries will not be paid until soldiers have received their payments. Nobody else get anything before help is distributed to the army. In short, the army and its needs take first place.

3. Many "diligent and honorable" soldiers will be promoted, because "this is the moment when young soldiers have to be cared for."

Karadzic left the solution of the problem of profiteers until the end of the war: "Every Serbian hero or disabled person will be honored then, as is appropriate for a Serbian hero."

There is no doubt that the Bosnian Serb leader will continue with the implementation of disciplinary measures in the army and with the use of the army for his own goals.

It is a completely different question whether this army is still motivated to wage a war for a state according to the wishes of Karadzic and his followers and whether the latest defeats are perhaps the beginning of the collapse of everything they have achieved.

Serbs Warn Mostar of 'Retaliation' Attacks

AU0505192995 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 May 95

[Report by Mirsad Behran from Mostar]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] At today's news conference in the EU Administration building in Mostar, the EU ambassador Klaus Metscher gave details of his visit to Pale.

As Metscher said, he had talks in Pale with Aleksa Buha, foreign minister of the so-called Srpska republic, on preventing the Serb artillery attacks on the demilitarized zone of Mostar under the EU administration. They also discussed the status of the Serb population in Mostar.

During these talks Metscher was particularly interested in the reasons for the latest case of the shelling of the Mostar center on 26 March this year, when one person was killed, and eight other civilians suffered more or less serious injuries.

Buha justified this act, and we quote, with the activities of the Muslim army aimed against the unprotected Serb civilians, end of quote, and stressed that the Serb side did not rule out the possibility of new retaliation.

Metscher warned Buha that, in case of further attacks on Mostar, the Serb side had to count seriously on the condemnation by the international public [word indistinct] and the EU [words indistinct]. [passage omitted]

Serbs Release 3 Held on Espionage Charges

LD0705175195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1731 GMT 7 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva, May 7 (TANJUG)—With the mediation of the Serbian Orthodox Church Patriarch Pavle, the Sprpska republic has released two

Swiss and one German, the Swiss Foreign Ministry said Sunday.

Maria Wernle-Matic and Simon Gerber, members of the organization Culture Bridge Switzerland-Sarajevo, were arrested on April 3 at the check-point between Sarajevo and the airport. The two Swiss nationals were arrested because they were carrying anti-Serb propaganda and had photographed restricted areas, the Serb republic said.

Switzerland made no official moves toward their release but entered into discrete negotiations. According to well-informed sources in Geneva, the Swiss government expressed readiness to pay a bail for its citizens and thus avoid a trial which would put forth evidence on their abuse of humanitarian activities for espionage.

Croat-Muslim Controversy Over War Crimes

LD0805194095 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, May 8 (TANJUG)—The announcement that the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague is to open an investigation on crimes committed by Bosnian Croats over Muslims in the Lasva valley in central Bosnia in 1993 has lead to mutual accustaions of the partners in the Muslim-Croat Federation.

Muslim Radio Mostar said on Monday that there was irrefutable proof that Bosnian Croats killed 117 Muslims and destroyed and burned to the ground 153 Muslim houses in the village of Ahmici near Vitez alone on April 16, 1993. The massacre was committed by members of special military police units of local Croats, the Croatian Defense Council, within an action named "48 Hours of Ashes."

Croat-controlled Radio Herceg-Bosna said on Monday that a commission for war crimes of the Croat state of Herceg-Bosna in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina had sent to The Hague tribunal a list containing names of 30 Muslims and evidence of them having committed war crimes against Croat civilians in the region of Herzegovina. The radio said Muslims brutally murdered 22 captured Croat civilians in the village of Trusine near the town of Konjic in northern Herzegovina on April 16, 1993.

Muslims and Croats, allies in their battle against Bosnian Serbs, waged war on each other for over a year for control of territories in central Bosnia. In March 1993 they signed an agreement on a federation in Washington. Now, they are accusing each other of mass crimes and ethnic cleansing operations. The tribunal for war crimes committed in the territory of former Yugoslavia, set up by the U.N. Security Council in May 1993, has so far indicted 22 Serbs.

Envoy to OSCE: Croatian Army Operation 'Legal'

AU0505195095 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ambassador Mahir Hadziahmetovic, chief of the Bosnia-Herzegovina mission with the OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe], addressed today in Vienna the session of the permanent council of this organization. Addressing the debate on the current developments in Croatia, Ambassador Hadziahmetovic said:

We should recall again our decisions in which it is stated that the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia have been and still are exposed to aggression. The operation by the Croatian units is legal and a logical step in the liberation of territory, and its reintegration within the internationally recognized state. That step is not just the right of the Croatian Government but also a normal reaction to the very poor and ineffective results of the work of the international community, which has not managed to put itself in a just position and give through the appropriate actions a real answer to the violations conducted against internationally recognized borders and territorial conquest through force.

We insist that the OSCE remains firmly behind its decisions and principles and views the events in Croatia only as a part of the complex problem that is the result of the aggression against Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia, Ambassador Hadziahmetovic said.

All Refugees 'Must Return' to Kupres by 1 Jul

LD0605211795 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian Minister for Reconstruction Jure Radic and the prime minister of Herceg-Bosna visited Kupres today. Ivan Kristic reports:

[Kristic] Jure Radic, minister of reconstruction and development in the Croatian Government, opened a sawmill in Kupres and inaugurated a new post and telecommunication office, the only one in Herceg-Bosna and Bosnia-Herzegovina connected to the Croatian post and telecommunications system by optical cables. Minister Radic was the first to make a phone call from the post office in Kupres. He called Croatian President Franjo Tudjman who sent his greetings to the liberators and residents of Kupres, who have already returned to their homes.

The delegations of the Croatian and Herceg-Bosna Governments decided that all residents of Kupres who fled or were driven out of Kupres must return to their homes by 1 July. Those who fail to return by that date will lose their refugee status in the Republic of Croatia. In order to make their return possible, the economy needs to be revived. Farming and animal rearing as well as tourism have a good potential in the area.

In order to provide good security for Kupres and its residents, Vladimir Soljic, defense minister in the government of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, announced that the Croat Defense Council will build a military base in Kupres.

RS Leader: Slavonia 'Will Be Regained'

AU0905121895 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 May 95 pp 1, 3

[Article by Nikola Todorovic: "Biljana Plavsic: We Will Regain What Is Taken From Us Even by Force If Necessary"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Western Slavonia is a Serbian ethnic area and it will be regained, Biljana Plavsic told NASA BORBA during her visit yesterday to refugees from Western Slavonian territory, who are accommodated in Nova Topola, near Bosanska Gradiska. To our question whether that meant that the regaining would also be done by military means she gave an affirmative answer.

In the event that the fall of Western Slavonia was part of the agreement between Milosevic and Tudjman, we, said Biljana Plavsic, "are not bound by Milosevic's arrangements." "If there are secret agreements, the RS [Srpska republic] and RSK [republic of Serb Krajina] will not pay regard to that when recovering Western Slavonian territory."

Answering a question about RS Army help for the RSK army during the Croatian side's recent attack, Biljana Plavsic said that they "responded as much as they could have at that moment." Having reminded us of the activity of Serbian artillery from the Serbian side, she said that the military people would be better qualified to answer such questions. "The Croatian action was coordinated, accurate, and had Muslim cooperation. The whole length of our frontline was attacked so that the RS army had to react on the spot, while Croatia was doing what they had decided to do," Biljana Plavsic said, having accused the United Nations of factual participation in the Croatian attack, pointing out that there are ustasha crimes taking place now, exactly at the time of the celebration of 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism.

Regarding the reports by refugees from Western Slavonian territory, Biljana Plavsic stated that a RS staff had recently been formed to deal with that problem and that a meeting with the presidents of the municipalities of Krajina and the Sava river basin areas was held. She also emphasized the need for the refugees who had been received to show discipline, which she thinks will not be that easy. "The refugees are still under severe shock as a result of the recent events. They all have some family members encircled by the Croats. They have been waiting for news from the world, and perhaps they don't even expect any international organization will help get the people out of the encirclement."

In Nova Topola, some 10 km from Bosanska Gradiska, there are, as they claim at the local reception center, about 7,000 people. It is the largest refugee center for people from the territory of Western Slavonia. According to Djuro Mizdrak, member of the Crisis Committee for the Reception of Refugees there and commander of Civil Defense, the situation is very bad because there is a lack of, above all, hygiene, baby diapers, mattresses, and other basic necessities. The refugees accommodated there, as they point out, are mainly women, children, and elderly people.

Serb Krajina President's Statement on 'Genocide'

LD0505142495 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1342 GMT 5 May 95

[Quotation marks are as received; item received via fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 5 May (SRNA)—The office of the president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] today issued a statement in connection with the aggression against Western Slavonia. SRNA carries the statement in full:

The Croatian armed attack on Western Slavonia has revealed the true face of Croatia. Recognized are all the characteristics of the identical Croatian state from World War II, in which one third of the Serbian population was killed; in the Jasenovac death camp alone 700,000 Serbs were killed, together with Jews and Romanies.

In 1991, Croatia expelled Serbs from 183 settlements in the northern part of Western Slavonia and from 24 villages in the Slavonska Pozega municipality. In 1991 the Croatian Army killed 14,000 Serbs and threw them in 89 mass graves, about which the UN Security Council and the International War Crimes Tribunal in The Hague were informed.

On 1 May 1995, the Croatian Army attacked the remaining part of the free western Slavonia (there were 64 per cent of Serbs in western Slavonia in 1991). Serb fighters were not able to put up resistance because UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] troops returned their heavy artillery fire when it was alreay too late, and they did not have any air cover from the Serbian Air Force because NATO threatened to down every Serb plane which took off.

The armed Serbs had their families in the settlements that the Croats shelled with artillery and aircraft. They also sent tank units to these settlements with the aim of exterminating all the civilians. The Serb fighters had to neglect their defense lines in order to evacuate the children, women, and the elderly toward the free territories. Some civilians are accommodated in refugee shelters in Pakrac and nearby villages.

The agreement on the cessation of military operations and the evacuation of Serbs was again broken by the Croats on 4 May. They did not want to implement the agreement. They have violated all norms of civilized behavior, acting in such a way as to humiliate both the United Nations and the international community.

At the invitation of Yasushi Akashi, UNPROFOR representatives and the Red Cross, the Serbs handed in their heavy weapons which they were using to defend around 5,500 civilians.

When the Serbs handed in their heavy weapons the Croats broke up negotiations, arrested our negotiator, Veljko Dzakula, and Stevo Arambasic, president of the district council of Western Slavonia, and took them to an unknown destination.

The Croatian soldiers dragged them out of vehicles of the Danish UN battalion, which had guaranteed them safety on behalf of the United Nations. At the same time the Croats prevented Yasushi Akashi, the Red Cross, and UNPROFOR representatives from visiting the area.

From 1400 [1200 GMT] until the evening on 4 May, the Croatian Army shelled Serb refugees. The most serious genocide over the Serbs is under way. Croatia must be halted. Bodies of killed adults and children have been floating down the Sava River over the past three days.

Today, it is clear what Tudjman's state of Croatia is like. It is obvious that the world has turned a blind eye to it for the past four years.

The statement is signed by the RSK president's adviser, Slobodan Jarcevic.

Tudjman Appoints Gen Cervenko Acting CGS

LD0605114695 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On the basis of results gathered by a team of specialists, which has recommended treatment and rest for Corps General Janko Bobetko [Croatian chief of the General Staff, CGS], Franjo Tudjman, president of the Republic of Croatia and supreme commander of the Croatian Army, has appointed Gen. Zvonimir Cervenko as acting CGS, the president's office reported today.

Tudjman Statement Following Talks With Holbrooke

LD0705140095 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 7 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II are continuing in London today. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Tihomir Vinkovic] This gathering of statesmen is a good opportunity for bilateral talks. Croatian President Franjo Tudjman held talks this morning with Richard Holbrooke, U.S. under secretary for Europe and Canada. President Tudjman had the following to say after the talks:

[Tudjman] The talks with Mr. Holbrooke, who is the greatest expert on our problems in the U.S. Government, focused on how to resume the peace process after what had happened, after our action, which we had to launch following the crime on the Zagreb-Belgrade motorway and then [Krajina Serb leader] Milan Martic's shelling of Zagreb. We discussed ways to stop the further deterioration of the war situation and resume the peace process. I think we reached a high level of understanding, but there are problems concerning the United Nations and the general circumstances concerning the UNCRO [UN Confidence Restoration in Croatia] mandate in Croatia, which has not been fully defined. [end recording]

Radical Party Requests Replacement of Mikelic

LD0905111295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 0957 GMT 9 May 95

[Received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Knin, 9 May (SRNA)—The club of deputies of the Serbian Radical Party in the Assembly of the republic of Serb Krajina today forwarded an urgent request to Krajina Assembly Speaker Rajko Lezajic to convene an emergency session of the Krajina parliament immediately.

The Radicals propose the following agenda: the analysis of developments in Western Slavonia, establishing individual responsibility for omissions, analysis of the latest tragedy of the Serb people, and a vote on a no-confidence motion in Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina. [passage omitted]

Mikelic Denies Meeting Croatian Army Chief

LD0805161295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 8 May 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Belgrade, 8 May (SRNA)—Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], denied in a statement for SRNA today that "he or any member of his government has met General Zvonimir Cervenko, the new Croatian Army chief of staff."

"The RSK government is negotiating only with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for former Yugoslavia, and General Denar, UN chief of staff," Mikelic said.

The Krajina prime minister assessed a statement by RSK presidential spokesman Petar Damjanic, who denied Mikelic's right to "negotiate military issues," as "propaganda aimed against the government." [passage omitted]

Mikelic: 3 May Cease-Fire 'Mostly Observed'

LD0805151695 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1353 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 8 May (TANJUG)—Borislav Mikelic, prime minister of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], told TANJUG today that the cease-fire agreement signed on 3 May has been mostly observed in Sector South, Sector East, and Sector West, except for sporadic incidents along the separation line in Sectors North and South.

He stressed that he has constantly been in touch with Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy, and Arthur Denar, chief of staff of the UN forces, in order to assess the situation following the Croatian aggression against western Slavonija and the ensuing events, especially after the Croatian troops entered the separation zone, and to review the implementation of the accord and (?oral agreement) on cease-fire.

Mikelic added that these high-ranking UN representatives had informed him about the order issued by the Croatian Army commander, General Zvonimir Cervenko, for the withdrawal of the Croatian troops and weapons from the separation zones.

As for the situation in the Pakrac area, Mikelic said that "there is still a considerable number of Serbs" there, who are "under full protection of the UN forces." The UN forces can now move freely throughout Western Slavonia.

Freedom of movement for the Blue Helmets is very important because they were able to establish that there was no fighting in the Papuk area where some Serb forces have withdrawn, Mikelic was told by Denar.

The RSK prime minister said that "hall camps" in which men from western Slavonija are accommodated, in Bjelovar, Pozega, and Varazdin, are controlled by the United Nations, "which in this way supervises all the methods used on the POWs by the Croatian authorities." Quoting Akashi and Denar, Mikelic said that although the Croatian authorities have released from these camps 321 men aged between 16 and 18 and between 60 and 75, women and children do not wish to leave the Pakrac area until all POWs are released. According to him, around 1,000 more men from the Pakrac area are still in Croatian prisons in the above mentioned places. The UN-controlled and secured release of the remaining people can be expected to take place in the next few days.

In this connection Mikelic said that a mine-clearing operation of the approaches to the Sava bridge near Gradiska has already started so that everyone wishing to join refugees in the Srpska republic should be able to do so.

The RSK prime minister added that according to information he has received from Akashi, representatives of the United Nations, the European Union, and international humanitarian organizations have freedom of movement in the Okucani area. Today we might get the first information on victims of the Croatian aggression against that part of Slavonia, while we can expect final reports to be released in two to three days, he stressed. "In my contacts with Akashi throughout the day, I have continued to insist that the Security Council should hold a discussion on the Croatian aggression and its consequences," Mikelic said.

"We have demanded and we are asking again, on the basis of our proposals and demands after the aggression, that Western Slavonia again be granted the status of a UN-protected zone," the RSK prime minister concluded.

Croatian Army Reportedly Not Withdrawn From Lika

LD0805135295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1314 GMT 8 May 95

[Received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 8 May (SRNA)—The General Staff of the Serb Krajina Army today denied reports on the withdrawal of the Croatian Army soldiers from the buffer zone between Serb and Croatian units.

"We have contacted the relevant units of the Lika and North Dalmatia Corps, but have not yet received any reports on the withdrawal of Croatian soldiers," Branko Opacic, head of the Serb Krajina Army General Staff information service has told SRNA.

Confirming that negotiations between Stevo Seva, commander of the Lika Corps of the Serb army, and local Croatian commanders on the peaceful withdrawal of Croatian soldiers from UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] observation posts in that sector were under way, he reiterated that the Serb Krajina Army General Staff has not been informed about the alleged Mikelic-Cervenko agreement.

"We believe that no talks between our prime minister and Croatian representatives have taken place, because we would certainly have to be informed about them," Opacic said.

RSK Official Denies Talks Held With Zagreb

LD0805112895 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1013 GMT 8 May 95

[Received via fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 8 May (SRNA)—Petar Damjanic, the spokesman of the president of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] today denied the reports carried by some news agencies that official representatives of Knin and Zagreb yesterday held talks on the withdrawal of the Croatian forces from Sector South.

Damjanic told SRNA that the withdrawal of the Croatian forces from the buffer zone in Sector South was to be negotiated between Zagreb and the UN Protection Force, and that he knew nothing of Krajina Prime Minister Borislav Mikelic's talks yesterday with General Zvornimir Cervenko, the commander of the Croatian Army's chief of staff.

"Even if it was true that Mikelic had a meeting with the Croats, he did not have a mandate to negotiate on military issues. Those responsible for negotiations on these issues did not have a meeting with Croatian representatives," President Martic's spokesman said resolutely. According to him, the stance of the RSK's official representatives is clear: "No talks until the Croats withdraw from Western Slavonij and honor the agreement that Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy reached with Krajina representatives."

Officials in the main headquarters of the Serb army of Krajina were also surprised by the reports that Mikelic allegedly had a meeting with the Croatian commander yesterday. "We know that Colonel Stevo Sevo, the commander of the [Krajina] Serb army's Lika Corps and his assistant held talks with Croatian representatives at a local level. It was confirmed yesterday that the Croats seem to be willing to withdraw mortars to 10 km and heavy artillery to 20 km from the buffer zone," Branko Opacic, the chief of the information service of the Serb army of Krajina said. He confirmed that the Croats yesterday requested to hold talks on all disputed issues with the Krajina authorities, but they were told that the negotiations would not be held unless they meet the provisions stipulated in the agreement with Akashi and the agreement from September 1994.

Speaking about the situation in Western Slavonia where around 7,000 Serbs are still encircled by Croats, Opacic said that there was no update on their fate. "There are no attacks, but the situation is dramatic. The Croats refused to allow International Committee of the Red Cross observers and foreign journalists to enter the area, so there are no reliable reports on what is going on there," Opacic said.

Martic 'Personally' Ordered Shelling of Zagreb

AU0605210695 Paris AFP in English 2035 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] Belgrade, May 6 (AFP)—Croatian Serb leader Milan Martic admitted Saturday [6 May] he gave the order to fire rockets on Zagreb which killed ten and wounded more than 200 others.

"I personally gave the order to bombard Zagreb as a response to (Croatian President) Franjo Tudjman and the Croatian leadership behind the aggression on Western Slavonia and crimes on civilians," he said, cited by the Croatian Serb news agency ISKRA. Martic is leader of the self-declared Serb republic of Krajina (RSK) which lost control of a key enclave in eastern Croatia after Zagreb forces mounted a military offensive May 1 and 2.

The shelling of the Croatian capital Tuesday and Wednesday was condemned by Belgrade and main political parties with the exception of the ultra-nationalist Radical Party. Former Krajina Serb information spokesman Dusan Ecimovic said the shelling "could only have been the work of someone who is mentally ill."

"Instead of capitalising on the crimes committed against Western Slavonia to spark (foreign) diplomatic action, Krajina leaders turned the world's attention away by shelling Zagreb," BETA news agency quoted him saying. [passage omitted]

Akashi Promises, Milosevic Silence Noted

LD0605155095 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1310 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 6 May (SRNA)—About 5,000 Serbs from Western Slavonia have gone missing since 1 May when the Croatian occupying troops began ethnic cleansing there, Branko Opacic, head of the Information Service of the chief of the General Staff of the Serb Army of Krajina told SRNA today.

"The ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] yesterday registered 1,500 Serb fighters who have been taken to Croatian concentration camps in Bjelovar, Daruvar, and Varazdin. There are still 2,000 Serb civilians, including 800 children, on the run around Pakrac whereas the whereabouts of the remaining 5,000 citizens of the occupied area of Western Slavonia is absolutely unknown. For the time being they are classified as missing persons," Opacic explained.

Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for the former Yugoslavia and members of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], whose obligations included protection for Serb civilians in this area, delegations of international humanitarian organizations, as well as domestic and foreign teams of journalists have been unsuccessfully trying for the sixth day running to enter temporarily occupied territory of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK].

In Opacic's words, "Akashi promised yesterday in the course of his four-hour talks with the RSK leadership that he would invest every effort in preventing yet another Croatian crime against thousands of Serb civilians but Zagreb has just turned a deaf ear, ignoring all verbal threats".

President of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic, whose signature guarantees the Vance peace plan for Krajina, is yet to be heard regarding this great tragedy of the Serbian people.

Krajina Serbs Rout Reconnaissance Unit

LD0905093895 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0908 GMT 9 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Vukovar, 9 May (TANJUG)—Serb fighters have managed to rout a Croatian reconnaissance unit in the region of the village of Tenjski Antunovac, a statement issued today by the command of the Slavonija and Baranja Corps of the Serb Krajina Army in Vukovar says.

The statement goes on to say that a number of members of that group were liquidated, while one was caught. Members of the Croatian Army tried to carry out reconnaissance actions in the regions of Bilje in Baranja and Nemetin in eastern Slavonia. [passage omitted]

RS, RSK Defense Council Issues Threats

AU0505115895 Knin Srbski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 4 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A session of Joint Defense Council of the Srpska republic [RS] and the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] was held today in Knin. The session focused on the current military and political situation on the territory of the two republics in the wake of the aggression of the Croatian Army against the republic of Serb Krajina on the territory of Western Slavonia.

The session concluded that the latest Croatian aggression was condoned by the international community, with an incredibly mild reaction of the UN Security Council, and that the international community turned a blind eye to the massacre and exodus of Serb civilians in Western Slavonia as well as in bordering areas of the Srpska republic. The RS and RSK Joint Defense Council concluded that the UN Security Council has an obligation before the international community to provide for the liberation of the besieged Serbs and for the withdrawal of the Croatian Army to previous separation lines. If that is not done, the republic of Serb Krajina and the Srpska republic are determined to use all available means to liberate the Serbs and the entire Western Slavonia. Moreover, the authorities of the two republics are charged with doing all in their power to give shelter and assistance to refugees from the area.

Furthermore, the Joint Defense Council decided that an urgent meeting of the commission for the unification of the two republics must be organized as soon as possible with the purpose of accelerating the unification process.

Volunteers From Serbia Aid Krajina Defense

LD0605165795 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1530 GMT 6 May 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Knin, 6 May (SRNA)—The chief of the general staff of the Serb Krajina army today denied reports by some foreign agencies that civilians are being evacuated from Vukovar in the east part of Slavonija.

"Following the Croatian occupation of Western Slavonia, units of the 11th East Slavonia Corps have been put on alert, although Vukovar and all of Baranja are quiet and there is no panic. Neither are civilians being evacuated," Branko Opacic, head of the information service of the Serb Krajina army general staff, told SRNA.

"Opacic also denied Croatian lies about tanks of the Yugoslav Army moving toward the border of the republic of Serb Krajina.

"The Serbs of Krajina have paid in blood for the realization that we have no spare homeland. The only true fact is that volunteers from Serbia and Montenegro are coming to the aid of this part of their people and they are being promptly sent to the front lines in keeping with defense plans"—Opacic said.

The head of the information service confirmed that the evacuation of about 6,000 Serb civilians from the temporarily occupied territory of Western Slavonia has not begun yet while some of the men from the concentration camps in Bjelovar, Pozega, Daruvar, and Varazdin have been sent to Kerestinec Prison in Zagreb.

Banija Officials Discuss Defense in Petrinja

AU0805131395 Knin Srpski Radio Krajina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 7 May 95

[Ljiljana Letica-Bobinac report from Petrinja]

[FBIS Translated Text] A meeting of highest military and civilian Banija officials was held today in Petrinja, the RSK [republic of Serbian Krajina] Army 39th Corps Information Service stated.

According to the same source, the meeting, attended by highest representatives of civilian and military authorities of Banija municipalities, focused on the military and security situation in Banija and analyzed defense preparations in the region. After a short and constructive discussion, the participants concluded that the defense preparations in this part of Krajina have been completed and agreed on further activity in strengthening the defense system of this part of the republic of Serb Krajina.

Croat, Serb Soldiers Entering UN Zones

LD0805221995 Zagreb HTV Television in Serbo-Croatian 2135 GMT 8 May 95

[From the "Slikom na Sliku" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Here you can see Croatian Army soldiers currently in the UN-controled [pod nadzorom] buffer zone in the Medak pocket. According to the 29 March cease-fire agreement, the area should be under sole UN control.

But at 0700 on 1 May, at the same time as the operation in Western Slavonia was launched, Croatian Army Forces entered the area thus violating the cease-fire agreement.

[Begin recording] [General Ray Crabbe, UN deputy commander in Croatia, identified by screen caption, speaking in English] As of today, we have a figure of about 2,500-3,000 HV [Croatian Army] soldiers and about 1,000 of the so-called army of the RSK [republic of Serb Krajina].

The major incursions have occurred in Sector South in the Otocac area as well as the Medak-Gospic area, in Sector North just west of Petrinja and in Sector East at Osijek and Vinkovci.

[Jaque Grinberg, UN official for political issues, identified by screen caption, speaking in English] The present situation has brought us to the closest point to all out war since the very early days of this conflict. The emphasis now must be on trying to calm down the situation and decrease the chances of misunderstandings from either side of the intentions of the other. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Army in UN Separation Zone Near Serb-Held Area

AU0805184995 Knin Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Croatian forces are still in the separation zone toward the territory controlled by the Lika Corps of the Serb army of Krajina. Ljiljana Dajic-Studen reports from Korenica:

[Dajic-Studen] For four days now, the command of the Lika Corps, with the mediation of the [UN] commander of Sector South and EU representatives, has been trying to establish an agreement with the command of the Gospic operational zone on the withdrawal of the Croatian forces from the separation zone between the Serb Army of Krajina and the Croatian Army in Lika. However, even after today's attempt to reach an agreement, the separation of forces was postponed indefinitely since the command of the Gospic operational zone was not able to acquire permission from their higher command.

Let me remind the listeners that the Croatian forces entered the separation zone and took nearly all the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] points towards the Lika Corps units on 1 May. Since then, they fortified their positions, put up obstacles, and mined the area, built communications, and brought in heavy equipment, while the blocked UNPROFOR members on these points, whose supplies of water and food are running out, were taken as hostages.

The convoy of UN vehicles that was to supply water and food to the UN members who have been cut off for four days now at [word indistinct] and the repeaters did not receive permission from the Croatian forces to pass.

The Croatian Army is still opening occasional small arms and sniper fire from the separation zone towards the Serb positions. The war presidency of the Korenica municipal assembly and the command of the 18th infantry brigade of the Serb Army of Krajina has informed the citizens that the civilian and military authorities are united and successful and that there is no reason to be concerned or believe the rumors.

Serb Army in Eastern Slavonia 'Combat Ready'

AU0805184195 Knin Srpski Radio Network in Serbo-Croatian 1900 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Information Center of Slavonija, Baranja, and western Srijem in Vukovar reports that the situation in the theater of operations of the Slavonia-Baranja Corps of the Serb army of Krajina is stable and unchanged. All the corps units are fully combat ready at the demarcation lines. Measures for protecting the civilian population have been taken, particularly for women and children, who are in a safe place. Each person living in the area is prepared to fulfill their obligation with the support of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia], which has stated that it will meet its obligations contained in the Vance plan.

Albanians Rally, Protest Rector's Imprisonment

AU0505201495 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1635 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Albanians are holding a rally in the city of Gostivar at this moment protesting the imprisonment of Tetovo University Rector Prof. Dr. Fadil Sulejmani and Forum for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms Chairman Milaim Fejziu. Our correspondent Imer Ismajli is on the line for you:

[Ismajli] At this moment, the protest rally is being held at the city square in Gostivar by all Albanian political parties and other associations of Albanians in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM].

Mrs. Safet Deari, chairman of the branch of the Albanian Women in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, is addressing the Albanian citizens who rallied here as regards the positions and messages of this protest rally taken by all Albanian political subjects, including a message from Tetovo University students.

The protest rally in Gostivar continues. Some 5,000-6,000 citizens have rallied in the square.

Albanian-Language TV Station Shut Down

AU0605153495 Skopje MIC in English 5 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Today's FLAKA brings the information that yesterday, with a decision of the Ministry of Traffic and Relations, the TV station in Albanian language "ERA" in Skopje was closed without any previous warning.

According to the director of the TV station Abdula Mehmeti, the only TV station in Albanian language working in the Skopje area, was "closed for no reason."

Sources from the Ministry of Traffic and Relations claim that "ERA" did not possess a work permit. Otherwise, this TV station has been working in Skopje for more than six months and broadcasting programs of TV Tirana, intended for abroad.

The director of TV "ERA" stated for MIC that "none of the TV stations in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] have special work permits, as there is no law for radio broadcasting." Mehmeti feels that "the same criteria should exist for all."

Minister Notes Successes Against Drug Smuggling

AU0505163195 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 5 May 95 p 4

[Statement by Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski in Rome on 4 May: "Macedonia Has Cut Off the 'Balkan Road of Drugs'"—all quotation marks as published]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rome, 4 May—On his way back from the world conference on security in Cairo that was attended by interior ministers from all over the world, Interior Minister Ljubomir Frckovski gave a statement to NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Rome in connection with the conference and the recent scandalous article in the Italian weekly ESPRESSO that claimed that "Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM] is the world's capital for heroin-processing."

"It is not unusual for distinctive weeklies and newspapers like this one to publish ordered and paid-for articles. Concerning the contents of what has been written, it is useless to make any serious analyses," Frckovski said. "All Interpol data put Macedonia at the bottom of the list of drug-transit countries. This is not just our own assessment but the assessment of expert international services. This is no surprise, considering how our security services have succeeded in cutting off the so-called Balkan road for drugs. As we ourselves have shown, there was a strong pressure for drugs to transit across Macedonia—because this is the shortest way to Europe, and also because it is the best one for the dealers. However, our strong and persistent professional actions enabled us to cut off the so-called Balkan road of drug-smuggling.

"This is the reason why these roads [as published] are now split into two: from Sofia via Romania to the countries of central Europe; and via Thessaloniki and particularly Tirana to Italy and then to the countries of western Europe. Tirana is today certainly the biggest problem because it is under constant pressure from the international narcocriminal organizations." Minister Frckovski also stated that Macedonia "has for a while been under great pressure to allow the transit and spreading of drugs among the population. Good control and numerous arrests of criminals and drug smugglers have prevented the transit of large quantities of drugs across our territory, as well as [prevented the] spread of the use of drugs, particularly among the young people in the Republic. According to official data of international organizations engaged in the struggle against drugs, we are at the bottom of the list of countries consuming drugs in the world in general," stated the Interior Minister categorically in his statement.

"We are on our way back from an international meeting of those responsible for struggling against organized crime that has just ended in Cairo, where we discussed the struggle against drugs," Frckovski emphasized. "We have had a successful and long cooperation with many foreign organizations in the struggle against drugs, and with police organizations in Europe. We have particularly good cooperation with the Italian police—that is: with the department struggling against drug trafficking and the spread of drugs, and we have accomplished several successful joint actions. We are also aware that the world's narcocrime will constantly try to provide itself with the shortest road for drugs delivery in countries and places where the drugs are mostly being used. Nevertheless, Macedonia represents a great obstacle to their goal."

"Concerning the present situation, there are temporary attempts to smuggle drugs across our country. However, these are small networks that we discover immediately, and we arrest the operators. It is true that the pressure of the drug dealers has contributed to a greater use of drugs in Macedonia. Nevertheless, this is on a small scale, and therefore we cannot say that Macedonia is a center of drug traffic or a big drug consumer, let alone that it is the center of heroin-processing. That is a totally false argument, and that is why it does not deserve any attention," said Frckovski categorically.

This is why Minister Frckovski concluded that "if the author of the article in ESPRESSO had had good intentions and a little objectivity, he would have asked the Italian police for this information, and then he would have to look for another country to call the 'capital of heroin-processing,'" Minister Frckovski said at the end of his special statement.

Culture Minister Loses PDP Post

95P20760A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 18 Apr 95 p 3

[Article by "I.A.": "Tracking Down the Report on the Recall of Minister Eshref Aliu"]

[FBIS Translated Text] E. Aliu has been asked to resign from the leadership [of the Party for Democratic Prosperity] [PDP in Macedonian; in Albanian, PPD], while "the report that he has been recalled is disinformation for the purpose of manipulation and causing dissension"—PDP chairman Abdurrahman Aliti told us.

The report broadcast in the news segment of the Albanian Television's satellite program on Sunday [16 April], which stated that the PDP leaders have removed Eshref Aliu, minister of culture of the government of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM], from the party leadership caused a great stir in public opinion here—among other things, because of the fact that the PDP news service did not report this. In order to find out the attitude of the PDP in connection with this situation and in light of the fact that, for some time, unofficially, there has been talk about "disagreements" of the PDP leadership with some of Aliu's positions, we talked to party chairman Abdurrahman Aliti who denied the aforementioned report.

"The only truth and the whole truth is that the PDP leaders, after several discussions, asked Aliu to resign from the leadership of the PDP," Aliti said, explaining that this was done "because some of his positions, expressed in an interview given to RILINDJA and BUJKU, were not in accord with the positions written (stated) by the party."

Aliti said that the report broadcast on Albanian Television's satellite program was disinformation placed by "certain people who wish the PDP ill, and for the purpose of manipulation and creating dissension." We should note that although we did not mention this in our conversation with the PDP chairman, the disagreements in the relationship between the PDP leaders and Minister Aliu are a result of Aliu's attitudes in regard to the Albanian-language university in Tetovo, which he expressed in the abovementioned interview.

Liberal Party Official on Coalition Relations

95BA0177A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 6 Feb 95 p 2

[Interview with LP Secretary Ace Kocevski by Zoran Petrov; place and date not given: "We Will Not Be an Opposition"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The fact is that the proposed government did not correspond to the balance of power and that the Social Democratic and Socialist part of the Alliance was too dominant in it; Sometimes the public, and also certain circles within the SDSM [Social Democratic Alliance of Macedonia], hasten to declare us the opposition. Our misunderstandings are with the SDSM circles that want, even to the detriment of their party, to manipulate the Alliance's voters and introduce one-party rule.*

The Liberal Party [LP] of Macedonia has been the focus of the Macedonian political public's attention for a rather long time now. Starting with the period of the establishment of the first party coalition government, its relations with its coalition partners, especially the SDSM, have been characterized by enormous fluctuations in the extent of agreement on certain national strategic issues. The peak of these "hot and cold" relations among the *partners in the Alliance for Macedonia [SM] electoral coalition was the disagreements over the composition of the new government, the Hard Rock scandal, and the case of the "Albanian university in Tetovo," which ended with the Liberals' well-known abstention upon the election of the government. To many people, this meant an overture for the creation of a new opposition party, because the principled observations of the LP were, and still are, directly contrary to the other side's reactions. This is the reason for the dilemma over whether the Liberals' disagreements and dissatisfaction will grow from words into deeds—which is consistent, among other things, with the composition of the present government, in which the LP has four ministerial positions. That is the main reason why we spoke with Ace Kocevski, LP secretary and at the same time coordinator of this party's caucus in the Macedonian Assembly.*

The SM Does Not Exist as a Political Group With Its Own Bodies

[Petrov] On several occasions, you, and also the LP deputies, have stated that parliament is severely handicapped by the lack of an opposition. Do you think that democracy in Macedonia has been harmed by the boycott by the two largest opposition parties?

[Kocevski] As a result of the unfounded decision made by the two largest opposition parties, without any real reasons, to boycott the second round of the elections, we obtained a pluralist parliament with a small—and I would say insignificant—opposition. In the practice of developed parliamentary countries, the opposition is an integral and inseparable part of democracy. From that standpoint, one can say with certainty that harm has been done to democracy in Macedonia, because it is missing a strong mechanism for democratic control of the authorities within the framework of parliament.

[Petrov] How would you comment on the statements by the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party of Macedonian National Unity] and the DP [Democratic Party]?

[Kocevski] Well, they are the ones who lost the most. Not having enough courage to face electoral defeat, and wanting to justify their own mistakes in formulating their campaign platforms, media presentation, and appearances during the election campaigns, they underestimated their own constituency—which, to tell the truth, is neither small nor negligible. Access to the parliamentary rostrum is a big thing. I believe that the VMRO-DPMNE and DP leaders have already realized this. Actually, they are the best example of how a lack of vision and bad judgments can result in enormous blunders.

[Petrov] The electoral victory of the SM was based on a common campaign platform. Even during the election of the government, however, your party abstained from the voting. In that context, is the SM still functioning?

[Kocevski] The fact is that the SM consists of three parties with different program orientations, different memberships, and different social support. The SM as a political group with its own bodies, however—or with its own caucus—does not exist, although we proposed back when it was formed, after the elections, that an Alliance caucus be formed; however, each party is acting separately through its own caucus. I think that the most important national issue, which the deputies will work on, will be a strong faction for cohesion among the three parties during the upcoming period. The tremendous trust of the voters is a big thing that must not be betrayed, and it may be manipulated because of various partisan interests. Fulfillment of the campaign promises that were made about an effective parliament, a stable and dynamic government, and an acceleration of the reforms begun in the economic and political systems, requires that we take a responsible approach.

The Government's Impotence

[Petrov] Nevertheless, your caucus did not vote for the government's election. The reason was disagreement with the government list in which one minister was a signatory of the decision to open the Albanian university in Tetovo. What is the LP's position on this issue?

[Kocevski] Our position is very clear and precise. The opening of the so-called university with Albanian-language instruction in Tetovo is a dangerous political game that has nothing to do with the educational needs of Albanians in Macedonia. It is an illegal and extralegal initiative, because it was not promoted through the legally established procedure and through the legally defined conditions. The initiators' goal is to achieve homogenization and introduce tension between Macedonians and Albanians, and possibly interethnic conflicts aimed at threatening Macedonia's stability. That initiative, however, also made apparent the impotence of our law-governed state, the irresponsibility of the relevant Ministry of Education and of the minister at that time, and also the irresponsibility and confusion of the government, which reacted much too late. We think that the number of Albanian students at universities in Macedonia really is too small, and that the authorities should find out the real reasons for it and propose appropriate measures to find an appropriate solution.

[Petrov] Is that the only reason you abstained when the new government was elected?

[Kocevski] We took that position in connection with the election of the government because we were still convinced that the act of electing a government minister who at the same time was also a signatory of the decision to open the university in Tetovo would leave the door wide open for unconstitutional actions, with the government itself acting as a participant in them. There is a paradox in this. Specifically, it is incomprehensible that someone should be subjected to criminal prosecution because he wants to register as a student, or even because he enrolls in that so-called university, while one of the founders of the same illegal institution sits in the government along with the minister who is prosecuting his cosigners.

[Petrov] How would you comment on the personnel composition of the government, in which the LP fared worst, in accordance with the election results?

[Kocevski] On this occasion I would rather not comment on the personnel composition, expertise, and competence of the ministers, but instead state our principled position on this issue. After the unfavorable course of the negotiations on the composition of the government, as a step toward overcoming the disagreements, we decided to give the prime minister-designate a free hand in putting together the government. That meant great freedom of choice but by no means less responsibility for consistent respect for the election results. The expressed will of the voters, through the balance of power in parliament, was embodied in the executive branch, which actually constituted the final act of the entire process. We expected that the prime minister-designate would not lose sight of that. The fact is, however, that the proposed government did not correspond to the balance of power, and the Social Democratic and Socialist part of the Alliance dominated it. That is not good because of the voters' trust, because it has reduced the room for pushing for the reforms that the Liberals support. By the way, that will be seen soon from the attitude toward reforms in the political system and the economic sphere.

In this context, I want to emphasize that we were unpleasantly surprised by the fact that the prime minister-designate and the SDSM did not accept our principles for the organization of the government, in order to reduce the risk of their possible uncritical use or misuse. That is especially important for the group of ministries that carry out the basic state functions—especially internal affairs and finance, where all of the state's control functions are concentrated.

The SDSM Is Not Bothering To Answer Us

[Petrov] What happened with your initiative to form an interparty commission to investigate the Hard Rock affair; and, in general, what is the LP's position on that case?

[Kocevski] We think this case represents a great danger to the reputation and political image of the SM, because it is an indisputable proof of the existence of organized crime, with all the dangers that entails for citizens and for the state. In order to avoid dramatizing and misusing the events against our partners in the Alliance, and especially in order to investigate the possible connection of members of the leadership with that group's activities, we requested from the SDSM that we form a joint commission to investigate all the facts and circumstances. Because of the coincidence in time, and in order to permit the prime minister-designate to form a government free of the individuals who were possibly connected with that group, we requested the adoption of a joint position: that we would not support a government that would include such individuals.

[Petrov] To the best of our knowledge, the SDSM has not yet responded to your initiative. Do you also consider the Hard Rock case to be over?

[Kocevski] I do not know the motives of the SDSM leadership in not bothering to give us an answer to our initiative. On the other hand, our working group has completed its work and noted that the people from the LP involved in the campaign headquarters of the SM were generally not informed about the involvement of people in the security service. From that standpoint alone, for us, the case is over with. From the SM's standpoint, however, the entire case is still open, and we think that the most harm will be done to the LP and the SDSM if this case is politically suppressed.

[Petrov] Both under the previous government and now, the LP had serious disagreements with the SDSM; thus, in a way we were declared to be an opposition party. Is there any limit, any final boundary, that your party will not cross, or will you stay in the coalition at any cost?

[Kocevski] Our assessment is that the SDSM and the LP are the only two parties in the country that have a generally formulated position on the basic political orientation for development of the state; and, as such, the country needs them, and they bear a great responsibility for its fate. Of course, there are program differences between the two parties regarding certain strategic issues associated with the sequence of measures and the choice of priorities. In some cases those differences cause disagreements, and in some cases the public, as well as certain SDSM circles, hurry to declare us the opposition. They obviously do not realize that our approach to reforms is just as legitimate as the SDSM's, and that the differences should be sought in a competition among ideas, and not in domination by the more numerous.

At this time we are not choosing to be an opposition, believing that the citizens who voted for the SM voted equally for the LP and SDSM programs. We entered parliament via the will of the voters, and that is why we are part of the authorities.

No one can demand that we give up the principled positions in our program, because we would thus actually betray our voters. On the other hand, no one can demand that the SM's policy be reduced restrictively to the program and interests of just one of its participants, such as the SDSM. Consequently, we do not perceive our disagreements to be between the LP and the SDSM but rather between the LP and those circles within the SDSM that want, even to the detriment of their own party, to manipulate the SM electorate and introduce one-party rule. Otherwise, with respect to the issue of the extent of our tolerance, I can say that the extreme limit that we cannot cross is ignoring our reformist approach and suppressing the ideas and initiatives of the Liberal ministers. However, I am deeply convinced that that will not happen, because I believe that with their knowledge, expertise, and abilities, the Liberals are extremely necessary to the government.

Gosev on Yugoslav Breakup, Ethnic Relations

95BA0216A Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 28 Mar 95 p 12

[Interview with Petar Gosev, president of the Macedonian Democratic Party, by Petar Todorovski; place and date not given: "Sharp Criticisms by a Sworn Communist"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The policy resulting from a desire for the majority peoples to dominate the minority ones is to blame for the war on the territory of the SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia].

Skopje, 28 Mar—Petar Gosev is the president of the Macedonian Democratic Party, probably the intellectually strongest opposition party in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—FYROM]. With his sharp words, he often gives those in power gray hairs. From a sworn communist and the ill-fated prime minister-designate of one of the first Macedonian Governments, he has turned into the present authorities' worst critic. When he was president of the Central Committee of the Macedonian League of Communists, he installed Kiro Gligorov as Macedonian president, but now he is attacking him mercilessly. The interview with him is interesting in its own way.

[Todorovski] When you were still president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia, you supported the Slovene communists and helped to bury what was then the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY]. Then the SFRY fell apart, wars broke out on its territory, and serious casualties occurred. Do you now regret your conduct at that time?

[Gosev] The LCY Central Committee buried itself. It did not collapse either because of the Slovene communists' positions at that time or because of my conduct. To put it simply, the communist experiment failed, and my positions only coincided with the positions of those who realized perhaps somewhat earlier than I did that the system based on that ideology simply could not survive. Its inferiority was obvious in all areas in which it had to be compared with the market economy and multiparty system. The death of the LCY is not to blame for the war on the territory of the former SFRY, but rather the policy resulting from the desire to have the majority peoples dominate the minority ones, the desire to form state ties at the expense of the smaller ones. Thus I do not have anything to regret. On the contrary, I am satisfied that at that time I was on the opposite side from those who stubbornly tried to turn back history and are therefore responsible for the economic poverty and bloodshed.

[Todorovski] Because of the tense interethnic relations, especially between Macedonians and Albanians, many people are convinced that war is also knocking on Macedonia's door. Do you agree?

[Gosev] The concern is justified. Recently interethnic tensions have been growing. One cannot completely deny the danger that the war might also spread to the south, i.e., to our country. I am convinced, however, that the Macedonian Albanians and the Macedonians themselves will not give any foreign schemers any opportunity at all to exploit their disagreements for their own plans. The stability of Macedonia, in fact, depends primarily upon economic successes and the promotion of human rights. The possible spread of the war to its territory, however, depends more upon whether its neighbors decide on a possible regional war, or an even broader one. Specifically, I am still convinced that there is no limit to madness.

[Todorovski] Will the international peacekeeping forces possibly have any influence upon that?

[Gosev] The UN Protection Force in Macedonia is having a beneficial influence upon Macedonian and regional stability. The same thing applies to Macedonia's good cooperation with the Americans. The most important thing, however, is for the Balkan countries to start acting in accordance with European standards, to orient themselves more toward the future, and to show more respect in their mutual relations for the rights and wishes of others.

[Todorovski] How much is the current government responsible for the fact that the Albanians are demanding something that still does not seem real, i.e., their own university. Some people are convinced that it is the beginning of the promotion of idea about the autonomy of Ilirida, i.e., the federalization of Macedonia.

[Gosev] All sorts of things are influencing the immoderate and impatient demands of the Albanian party leaders with respect to the position of Macedonian Albanians. The important reasons also include the excessively long process of the international recognition of the Republic of Macedonia under its constitutional and historical name. It is also influenced by the mistaken policy of the Serbian leadership and the Greek authorities, which are still delaying the recognition of our country and the regulation of intergovernmental relations. Our state leadership has been more vacillating about all this than it should have been, and it does not have a clear enough view of the future. It responds more to day-to-day political needs and often gives in to day-to-day pressures, without thinking about what might ultimately result from that behavior.

[Todorovski] You also say that you possess information about secret negotiations between the state leadership and the Albanians?

[Gosev] We found out that people in the highest state leadership had promised Albanian-language instruction in higher education as well. The authorities' confusion about the public promotion of that university only further confirmed our information. We also found out about those promises from other sources, and because we know about many talks behind closed doors, whether they had any sort of consequences or not, we publicly asked them what they promised in those talks. Of course, we did not expect that they would openly answer us. Future events, however, will give an answer to the question of what sort of dealing was going on behind the people's backs.

[Todorovski] You were the one who politically revived Kiro Gligorov and made sure that he became Macedonian president. Now you are severely attacking him. Who acted wrongly, you or him?

[Gosev] Perhaps both.

[Todorovski] You say that Macedonia has been taken over by bribery and other forms of corruption, and state crime. Could you also prove that in court?

[Gosev] What the judges must know does not need to be proven. We do know about countless facts, the entire public knows about them, about the unprecedented spread of bribery and other forms of corruption, and also organized crime. Before the elections and during them I counted innumerable cases of corruption, illegal enrichment, theft of public property, and all sorts of other things. No one did anything, however. That is why it would be quite possible for us to lose a lawsuit, even if we had twice as much evidence for our accusations. Probably the authorities did not deal with the matter because they were afraid of launching a real avalanche. I can thus answer your question directly: We can also prove all of our criticisms in court.

Article Examines Denationalization Issue

95BA0181C Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 25 Feb 95 p 17

[Article by Lilica Kitanovska: "Once Again, for the First Time"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *A second attempt is being made to correct the errors made in the past concerning requisitioned property. However, it seems as though all governments have been avoiding dealing with the essence of the problem, a problem that could cause any government to fall apart—Procrastinating leads to greater appetites.*

For more than three years the Macedonian government has been able to sit on two chairs. On the one hand, whenever possible, it quotes the Constitution, to prove the progress made in reorganizing of the system; on the other hand, it "compensates" each step forward with two steps backward, still using the same old socialist laws under circumstances that are objectively different. This can be seen most clearly in the case of denationalization. The state is displaying tremendous hesitancy in meeting its own commitments and this, day after day, is increasingly acquiring a negative sense, so that major difficulties have already appeared in the factual defense of the postulates of a legal, correct, social, and anything-else state that claims to be democratic. There is no democracy if the rights of all citizens are not equally respected; and there is no right if in all cases, once again, documents are being required, to be used as ways to circumvent promises made.

It is proper to "test the ground" and ask the opinion of experts. So far, however, a single suggestion should have been brought forth, on the basis of which improved necessary decisions would be made. Instead, what happened was what in all likelihood had to happen to protect us from the possibility of regimentation. This applies precisely to the failure to pass that law—or, more specifically, the dragging out of this, which is part of the tactic of making it appear at all times that work is being done on major projects while, in fact, maximal efforts are made so that nothing specific will turn out to be as acceptable, because at that point, one could undertake the implementation of something that is "not opportune at this point."

For the sake of Truth, we must say that a draft law on denationalization has reached the parliament. It got a hostile reception—not because of any kind of capriciousness or extreme appetites on the part of people critical of the text but because simply this text proved to be a totally unserious effort to consider the problem in a dimension such as compensating former owners. With this material, it was not possible to avoid the initial phase of adopting this law, because the author included in it defects that were irreparable; thus, of necessity, something absolutely new had to be done.

The Drafters Are Silent

The new feature is clear. It is a step taken by the Ministry of Justice worthy of congratulations. It was proposed, accepted, and followed shortly thereafter by the official signing of an agreement for true cooperation—not ad hoc arrangements depending on individuals, as had been the case so far. It constituted a specific contribution to the formulation of this fundamental text—a text that, backed by empirical and scientific arguments, will be able to hold up under the weight of the legal disputes that will follow.

Specifically, after the procrastination on the previous unsuccessful text, this would be the "first step for the second time," the intention being to make it the final effort to introduce the new phase.

For the time being, the authors are keeping silent. This might be good, because unsubstantiated decisions would be counterproductive, and can no longer be permitted. We have learned, unofficially, that concealment cannot last too long, considering the World Bank's demand for this law to be passed by the end of the year, under proper conditions, of course. Since various stages in passing the law will be mandatorily regulated, any hasty step in this case would be a mockery, so a month from now this will become a basis for disputes.

In this context, it appears that resolving the problem of equity, or the extent to which we can come closer to ideal compensation of the former owners, is the main issue on the basis of which denationalization will develop as either a progressive or a regressive process. Guided by this ideal, in their joint work, Vladimir Kandikjan and Mihail Petkovski say "yes to denationalization, but on the basis of strictly set rules." Nowhere can such approved rules be found outside the law. In addition to the old law, the denationalization law will provide the dimensions of the process both overall and politically; will be based on the Law on General Administrative Actions, respecting that law's principles; and will be consistent with the procedure stipulated for legal actions, including denationalization.

Thus, Kandikjan and Petkovski specifically call for restitution's becoming the dominant standard or method for the implementation of fast and efficient denationalization. On the other hand, Sime Gelevski, professor at the School of Law, claims that all this work will be wasted if we keep applying the socialist mechanisms for the defense of the public interest. Thus, it is very difficult to satisfy the demand for justice. It is already clear that efforts will be made to protect the rights of tenants, for instance—which will create further difficulties. Those who for 40 years lived on someone else's premises must not all of a sudden find themselves thrown out. However, a modern state knows how to handle this through the activation of other state mechanisms and, in the final account, with a proper social policy.

Who Is Defending Himself?

According to Professor Stefan Georgievski, dragging things like this encourages a variety of appetites and aspirations concerning the property of the former owners. What is tragic is that we are not undertaking the protection of either the current users or the real owners; instead, new people show up, who consider themselves to be sufficiently able to grab a slice of the pie. When something is being redistributed, one should find his proper place! Meanwhile, however, what happens is that people are washing their hands of the problem. According to Georgievski, demands are being rejected on the basis of a distorted interpretation to the effect that "the most important stipulations do not provide grounds for further action on this issue," because the rulings of a higher court remain valid. For the time being, the property of the former owners is only being set aside, due to lack of any legal sanctions.

Nonetheless—says Georgievski—the accent should be on cases of property that cannot be returned for the simple reason that it does not exist. It is obvious that some property cannot be returned because of a variety of requirements on the part of the public. What is left is reparations, which requires evidence to determine cost. Therefore, an end should be put by the state to using another person's property—which is a very familiar aspect of the law. It is probable that the political moment is not very propitious (because, if effected improperly, denationalization will also mean the great risk of losing positions). The impression remains, however, that current policy is being refashioned at the expense of real economic decisions.

Sejm, CSCE Discuss NATO Expansion, Security

WS0905085895 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 6-8 May 95 p 4

[Article by (Krzem): "Meeting of West and Central Europe's Parliament Members NATO Insurance"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "An agreement between NATO and Russia cannot precede expansion of the organization toward the East; Central Europe should take part in the discussion. After all, new members will also be bound by the agreement," Janusz Onyszkiewicz of the Freedom Union said on 5 May in the Sejm.

"Then the agreement will be entirely clear," the former defense minister added, "and the countries in this region will not get the feeling that something is happening outside of them."

Without the Duma

Onyszkiewicz took part in a meeting between parliament members of Central Europe and representatives of parliamentary assemblies in NATO, EU, and the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe. The main topic was expansion of NATO toward the East.

The Russian delegation did not arrive, even though it had declared before the meeting that it would take part in it. "What we lack is a constructive political dialog with Russia on security," complained Longin Pastusiak of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], host of the meeting and chairman of Poland's delegation to the North Atlantic Assembly. "However, it is not Poland that is to blame for this."

Polish politicians emphasized that "the things that will be most important on the road to full membership in NATO will be support from parliament members of NATO states and overcoming their fears."

Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Andrzej Towpik argued that "discussion on European security is in fact discussion on the security of Central Europe." According to him, Europe will not be stable as long as our region is not included in the Western security system.

The Sense of Insurance

"We need NATO and the EU to be sure that external forces will not impede our reforms," said Grzegorz Kurczuk of SLD. Both Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych and he reiterated: "By entering NATO we want to overcome old divisions, not create new ones. We do not want to put a barrier between ourselves and Russia, nor do we want to change Poland into a front country."

According to Towpik, "the nature of relations between Russia and NATO depends on when Russia itself stops perceiving NATO as the enemy." "Our desire to join NATO is not caused by fear of Russia. It is rather the fear of unpredictability," he said. "We get an insurance policy on our cars not because our neighbors want to steal them from us, but because we do not know what will happen in the future."

According to Onyszkiewicz, there is currently no military threat to Poland. Potential instability in the East does not threaten to turn into an international conflict, and if it comes to a local conflict, we can deal with its results ourselves. There are also no reasons of a military nature why nuclear weapons or NATO bases should be located in Poland.

Onyszkiewicz argued forcefully that, aside from signing an agreement with Russia, NATO should also conclude an agreement with Ukraine: "It is not possible to build security in Europe without a free and independent Ukraine."

Walesa Addresses Parliament on V-E Day

LD0805110395 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 0716 GMT 8 May 95

[Speech by Polish President Lech Walesa on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II in Europe at the joint houses of parliament in Warsaw, presided over by Sejm Speaker Jozef Zych; relayed by TV Polonia Network—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Walesa] Sejm and Senate speakers, ladies and gentlemen. The Act of Capitulation of the Third Reich signed on 8 May 1945 meant the end of the War for Europe; a return to freedom and independent decisions by nations about their own fate. This day was greeted in many European capitals; they welcomed this day with joy and hope, in the belief that it would bring about peace and liberation to everyone.

The Poles also believed that that day meant for them the end of occupation, the beginning of a new, sovereign state existence. Reality soon played a trick on us. That day turned out not to be victory day for everyone. It was certainly not one for the nations of Central Europe, nor was it one for Poland. Our fate had been decided in Tehran and Yalta. The great ones of the world, our allies of not long before, decided for us. We were handed over to the sphere of influence of a foreign power. The door to freedom was once again slammed in the face of the Poles.

When the victory parade was taking place in London on 9 May 1945, there were no Poles taking part. We were not invited there, although Polish soldiers were fighting on all fronts during World War II; they were fighting for

London, Paris, and Rome; they were giving their lives for the freedom of other states and nations.

Our devotion and heroism, our great sacrifice and the offering of blood did not win the respect and recognition of the Western Allies; they lost in the confrontation with the immediate interests of the Big Four.

Ladies and gentlemen! It is only now, in a free and sovereign republic, that we can speak of this out loud, show the complex and ambiguous meaning of this anniversary, reveal the whole truth about it. In the Polish People's Republic [PRL], in an enslaved Poland, another version of history was in force: The official and only correct one. We celebrated 9 May therefore, as Victory Day. But today too—six years after communism was overthrown—we have trouble with this anniversary. It is still not certain whether it should be regarded as a day of victory or of national disaster. I think that these doubts arise from the fact that up to now we have not settled accounts with the past. We have not said clearly and distinctly what the PRL really was; what our true scope of freedom was; how far we were sovereign and how far dependent on a foreign power. Maybe we lacked courage, consistency, and imagination; maybe the political will to answer these questions was lacking. I hoped that the forces that govern Poland today, the heirs of the recent communist rulers of Poland, would do this themselves, make an honest self-examination. Our bloodless Solidarity revolution gave such an opportunity for a dignified settling of accounts with the past, in one's own interest, but above all in the interest of the republic. The new Poland must be built on truth and justice. The guilty must be punished and the wronged should be given redress.

The nation expects it, and its will should be the imperative of the highest order for the democratically elected authorities. The words "I am sorry" addressed to thousands of innocent victims of that inhuman system is decidedly not enough.

Sejm and Senate speakers of the esteemed house: In the memories of many Poles, 8 May 1945 was remembered as the day of joy and hope. The tragic and bloody war was coming to an end. But were Polish soldiers shedding their blood in Tobruk, Monte Cassino, Narvik, and Falaise, Lenino, and on many fronts of that war, to achieve such a goal? [passage omitted]

We were liberated, but just for a moment. Soon afterward we began our lives in a system that was forced upon us, and in the dependence upon a foreign power. Poland, created as a result of the Yalta agreements, was not a sovereign state. [passage omitted]

We were not masters in our own home; we could not decide our own fate individually; we could not have our own foreign policy, which would be consistent with Polish interests. Our Armed Forces were dependant on the Soviet generals. He who denies this, questions our aspirations and striving for freedom and strikes a blow at the historical truth, honor, and national pride of the Poles.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen: The struggle for independence did not end in May 1945. It continued for another half a century. You had to take it up again and again. We were obliged to continue struggling because of the legacy of the fighting Poland, the final act of the Polish underground state, which ordered us to continue our struggle. [passage omitted]

Today, the third Polish Republic is a free and sovereign state. The legacy of the fighting Poland has been fulfilled. Only now have we achieved our goal, a true victory; we can decide upon our fate ourselves and build our Polish home. But freedom is not given once and for all time. Every state must guard it and watch it. This is the basic and fundamental duty of every freely elected authority, and especially in a country such as Poland—situated between two powerful neighbors. Especially today when Europe has been setting its affairs to rights again and building its own new order.

History has taught us that the memory of the great ones of this world are short; that indifference and consideration of their own interests take the upper hand. The West easily forgets today what an immense contribution Poland made to the armed action of World War II. We fought, after all, on all its fronts, from the first day to the last. We offered an immense sacrifice of blood. We came out unambiguously on the side of freedom and democracy, against enslavement and totalitarianism. We fought not just for ourselves but for the whole of Europe. That was the deepest meaning of the Poles' armed resistance in that war. Our country's share in the overthrow of communism on our continent is also being forgotten. The changes that we initiated in Europe in the 1980s must not consist only in the unification of Germany. Their aim was supposed to be the unification of the whole continent. We were to build a new, better Europe—a Europe of free, sovereign, and democratic nations. Have we come closer to that goal in the past five years? I have serious doubts about that.

Europe is still divided into the better and the worse, the poor and the rich, the less and more privileged. The causes of small states and nations are still being sacrificed to great, imperial interests. Their sovereignty [podmiotowosc] in the international arena is treated with disregard. Poland has the historical, moral, and political right to decide jointly about the fate of Europe, about its present day and its future; about its security and stability.

Ignoring our strivings and aspirations harms not only us; it also harms the interest of the whole continent, for Poland was and is the keystone of the European arch. We cannot be ignored or bypassed in building an integrated Europe. Every time attempts were made to do this in the past it led to a disturbance of the balance on our continent, to conflicts and destabilization. For this reason, it is the aim of Polish foreign policy to enter European military and economic structures. We want to join them as quickly as possible. Life abhors a vacuum. We cannot continue to remain in a gray zone between an isolationist West and a possibly renascent empire.

Speakers of the Sejm and Senate, may it please the House! I would like here to comment on Poland's participation in the ceremonies commemorating the 50th anniversary of World War II. As we know, various views and opinions have been expressed on the subject. It is to be regretted that there was no public debate on the matter in the present parliament. The opposition demanded it, but its motion was rejected by the votes of the ruling coalition. Life has proved yet again that parliament constructed in this way fails to reflect the will of the nation. [laughter] As the opinion polls show, Poles think that in these conditions we should celebrate this anniversary here at home, not push where we are not wanted, and not jeopardize our national dignity and honor with ineffectual decisions.

I must also express regret that the meeting devoted to coordinating Polish foreign policy—which took place at my initiative—ended in a fiasco. There was no political will to come to an agreement on this matter and to reach a sensible compromise. Is it necessary to recall here, in this assembly, that one should speak with one voice on foreign policy, clearly and unambiguously, for the point is not the interest of the coalition or of any party, but the good of the republic, the Polish state. In every civilized country, foreign policy is excluded from game-playing because this damages the state's interests. It harms its good name, makes it a laughing-stock in the eyes of the international community. Poland today faces the opportunity of strengthening its sovereignty. Decisions are being taken on our entry into NATO and the European Union. We will squander that opportunity if our foreign policy is not consistent and cohesive. We will carelessly and of our own volition wreck the attempts to achieve membership in these structures.

Esteemed ladies and gentlemen. As president of the Polish Republic, elected in general and democratic elections...[commotion in hall; Walesa turns to the Sejm speaker] Mr. Speaker, if there is another suggestion like this and such behavior I will look for a different audience where one is allowed to speak.

[Zych] Ladies and gentlemen, please be quiet. [applause]

[Walesa] Esteemed ladies and gentlemen. As president of the Polish Republic, elected in general and democratic elections, I have a duty toward the nation to stick to its causes, to defend the Polish state, guard the dignity and honor of the Poles, guard respect for the past and the achievements of the past generations, thinking about the present and the future. As head of state I must consider all views so that my decisions can unify society and not divide it. Taking the voice of public opinion into consideration on the issue of Poland's participation in the ceremonies of the end of World War II, I made a decision not to participate in them outside the Polish borders. May this day, 8 May, become a day of national reflection on the past and on the imperatives for the present and the future that ensues from it. Thank you. [applause]

Reactions to Walesa's V-E Day Address Cited

WS0905122195 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 95 p 4

[Article by "EM, KRZEM": "Did They Have To Hear That?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The president's speech outraged the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], brought slight criticism from the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the opposition, and evoked mixed feelings among veterans.*

Deputy Sejm Speaker Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz (SLD): "An outrageous speech. The war and the victims were overlooked, everything was subordinated to the president's election campaign."

SLD head Aleksander Kwasniewski: "The president reminded us in an unsound manner—although it does have to be remembered—that we were deprived of our sovereignty in Yalta and Tehran. We cannot turn everyone—the Americans, the Russians, the Germans, West and East Europe—into our enemies. Yet the president is very precise. He is addressing those citizens who will support him because they share the same views on history."

Deputy President of the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland: "The president should apologize to all those who fought for Poland and whom he insulted."

Prime Minister Jozef Oleksy (SLD): "It is not appropriate for me to make any comment. I think everyone should study the speech delivered by the head of state with utmost attention. The shouts that interrupted Walesa's speech should not have been uttered."

Kwasniewski: "The parliamentarians behaved with tact and diplomacy."

The Peasants

Janusz Piechocinski, deputy chairman of the PSL parliamentary club: "The depth of historical reflection is visible, and I presume the author was [head of Office of Presidential Political Services] Andrzej Zakrzewski. Yet there were also some passages that had been added for the purpose of political play. Our club is very sorry that Lech Walesa turned the anniversary celebrations into an element of his presidential campaign."

Franciszek Stefaniuk, deputy chairman of the club: "Such anniversaries should unite, not divide. I am very sorry there was no such spirit in the assembly hall."

The Opposition

Jan Litynski (Freedom Union) [UW]: "The first uproar the president raised in the SLD benches was just, but he should not have included current politics in his speech. If it were not for that final part, he would have gotten a standing ovation."

Piotr Marciniak, Union of Labor deputy: "This is neither the time nor the place for settling accounts with the coalition. The evaluation of the last 50 years, however, was sound. SLD's reaction proves that they are still unprepared to reassess the history of those 50 years."

Krzysztof Krol, head of the parliamentary club of the Confederation for an Independent Poland: "They had to hear it, only I am not sure whether the timing was right."

The Veterans

A veteran from the Polish People's Army ("from labor camp to Berlin") said grimly, referring to himself: "It is sad. There should be harmony 50 years after the war. People should not be divided. A soldier was a soldier, no matter what color his blood."

Stanislaw Broniewski "Orsza," commandant of the Gray Ranks [Polish scouts]: "A very honorable speech. It spoke of our wartime toil and the half-victory. Our feelings are not easily understood abroad. It is good that this has been said at this time."

Deputy Sejm Speaker Olga Krzyzanowska (UW), a girl scout in the Gray Ranks, awarded the Cross of Valor at the age of 13: "Despite everything, some things have to be forgotten. We cannot keep returning to prisons and death. If the left had said that the Security Service was a criminal organization, that people were murdered without trial, that the formation they grew out of is responsible... The words 'I apologize' is good for the parlors. It will never be as good as the truth."

Columnist Supports Speech

WS0905105795 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 9 May 95 p 2

[Commentary by Krzysztof Gottesman: "A Lesson in History"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The speech which President Lech Walesa delivered yesterday could not have come as a surprise to most people who have been following political events closely. He summed up all the things he had said earlier on numerous occasions. It is good that such words were spoken by the head of the Polish state in Warsaw on the anniversary of the end of the war.

The president recalled once again that Poles find it difficult to celebrate a day on which, as a result of the decisions made in Tehran and Yalta, "the door to freedom was once again slammed shut before Poland." One cannot polemicize with such a statement. This is a historical truth. Another thing that the president said about is also a historical fact: that after 1945 Poland was not a fully sovereign state and that issues related to the past have not been settled as they should have. All this is directly related to 8 May.

On the other hand, it is quite difficult to agree with Aleksander Kwasniewski, leader of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], who said that such a speech "was out of place" and likely to "provoke internal Polish wars, and give rise to more tension," and that the president's activities "result from a desire to split the nation." The last six years, especially the time which has passed since the elections in September [1993], have proved that it is attempts to ignore the painful moments in the history of the Polish People's Republic and attempts to glorify the events of the postwar years, that are likely to cause such tensions.

Kwasniewski is correct in saying that we should primarily pay attention to the future. This, however, is not possible if we do not draw conclusions from the past fifty years, if we do not settle accounts with Poland's past. This is what Lech Walesa said in the parliament yesterday.

Leftist Daily Critical

WS0905104195 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 9 May 95 p 1

[Commentary by Stanislaw Cwik, under the "100 Words" rubric]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Walesa presented many well-founded arguments. The fate of Poland is closely related to the play of interests of Eastern and Western superpowers. We were and still are too often an object in this game. Our martial merits and our contribution to the construction of a free, democratic Europe are ignored. This is proved not only by the fact that the head of state is not invited to many anniversary commemorations, but also by the fact that the process of Poland's integration with NATO is rather slow.

Unfortunately, Lech Walesa is not only the incumbent president, but also a candidate for president who is waging his own election campaign. This is why he seized the opportunity and, while discussing issues related to the anniversary, he launched a violent attack on his contemporary political opponents. In a manner which is solely characteristic of him, he mixed issues, dates, evaluations.

No wonder that most politicians thought that fragments of the speech were, as Deputy Sejm Speaker Malachowski put it, "disgusting."

Malachowski 'Disgusted'

LD0805122195 Warsaw Polskie Radio First Program Network in Polish 1005 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksander Malachowski, from the Labor Union, described the president's speech as revolting, and accused him of lack of respect due to the soldiers of World War II.

[Begin Malachowski recording] You do not engage in electoral propaganda over the tombs of the dead. What happened here was shameful and I believe that my generation did not die nor get sent to prisons for such political games. I am absolutely disgusted with what has happened today. [end recording]

Jankowski Named Democratic Party's Candidate

LD0705110395 Warsaw PAP in Polish 1031 GMT 7 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Warsaw, 7 May—At its meeting held in Warsaw, the Democratic Party [SD] has officially endorsed Jan Janowski, the SD leader, as the party's candidate in the presidential elections.

Janowski has been the SD chairman since 1993, and was a deputy prime minister in Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government.

Freedom Union Head on Party Program

WS0905103595 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 6-8 May 95 p 3

[Article by ("WS, ST"): "Balcerowicz's Creed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *"There is no need to renegotiate the Concordat," claims head of the Freedom Union [UW] Leszek Balcerowicz.*

"That would be a wrong political move. We need the best possible relations between the state and the Church," he said yesterday in Katowice.

He told students of the Academy of Economics that all speculations on a possible alliance between UW and the Democratic Left Alliance are a waste of time. UW should primarily have the best possible program for the voters, become more efficient, and improve its financial standing.

Of the program he said: "We must finalize privatization, combat high inflation, protect the stability of our currency, develop self-government, and curb the state's influence on the economy. Given a clear distribution of power, the political system should be based on several parties with very good programs."

Balcerowicz believes that voters will learn to differentiate between nonsense and serious recommendations, thus causing the results of the upcoming elections to be different than those of 1993.

ZChN Calls For Ending Negative Campaign

WS0905104295 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 9 May 95 p 3

[Article by "WZ": "ZChN Before the Presidential Elections: Better Not Have Too Many Candidates"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *The right and "Solidarity" should support Adam Strzembosz or Lech Walesa in the presidential elections, claims the Chief Council of the Christian-National Union [ZChN].*

ZChN called on all anticommunist groups yesterday not to "multiply candidates." "The more there are, the greater the chance that the left will win," warned party leader Ryszard Czarnecki.

ZChN is appealing for the relinquishment of a negative campaign. It is warning that if a war of invectives is waged, people will refuse to vote, and the entire political class will lose. Czarnecki is bringing charges of a negative campaign primarily against the left, which he claims wants a confrontation with the Church and releases violence in people. The effect are attacks on the clergy and religious symbols. In the 1 May march in Warsaw, members of the Democratic Left Alliance carried an effigy of the Primate, and in Konin—his caricature.

Czarnecki declared his solidarity with the Primate and agreed with the homily Jozef Glemp delivered during last Sunday's celebrations in honor of St. Stanislaw. The Primate expressed his sorrow that the christened society is ruled by people who either rebut or fight Christianity.

According to the ZChN leader, Tadeusz Zielinski defends particularly the secular part of our society, and is using his office to carry out his election campaign. Zielinski should either back out of the elections or resign as civil rights spokesman.

Secret Service Personnel, Actions Detailed

WS0905110095 Warsaw NIE in Polish 4 May 95 pp 1, 7

[Article by Marek Baranski: "The Black Secret Services"]

[FBIS Translated Text] We decided to celebrate the fifth anniversary of the secret political police by shedding more light on it. We were able to acquire knowledge thanks to the efforts and risks taken by various generations of employees of the Office of State Protection [UOP]. Although these individuals are afraid to go public, they do not want to remain silent. UOP may well transform into a structure beyond any real control. On the contrary. [sentence as published] It wants to gain control over legitimate state authorities, subordinate them, and conspire. UOP already has a say on appointments to state offices. As far as we know, it will also want to influence the results of presidential elections by eliminating candidates from the race or weakening their chances.

On personal instructions from Namiestnikowski Palace [presidential office and residence], UOP launches operations and institutes investigations against certain people, turning a blind eye to others. Who is doing what is not as important as who should be framed and who is to be protected. Operations launched against those picked are publicized enough to make them infamous or overturn their businesses. Cases do not have to—because they cannot—be filed in court.

In an attempt to disturb the transformation of the secret political police into a state within the state, we decided to publish all we know about the UOP.

We now cancel the moniker of "jeUOPs" [pun—"jelop" is Polish for "blockhead"], which is far removed from the truth. Over the last five years, this institution has been fortified with a staff well trained by the Americans and British. It has the most technologically advanced equipment in the world and practically all the money it desires is at its disposal.

Officially, the UOP employs 5,700 people. It is impossible to establish how many "nonlegals" they have, (a term applied to individuals employed in other institutions,) and where they pursue their careers—including in the political arena, although in fact they are regular employees of the secret services. We also do not know how many "undercover agents" they have. Out of the official staff of 5,700, 2,000 work for counterintelligence. The UOP runs 14 field offices and 37 field divisions. Practically speaking, these offices and divisions exclusively carry out the instructions issued by counterintelligence.

Heads of Secret Police

Is our country so greatly threatened by espionage that this many professionals have to combat it day and night, intercepting the low average of one spy per year? Counterintelligence is not so much fighting foreign intelligence services as it is tailing and cracking various "internal enemies." The political mandates of the secret police determine who is foe, and who is friend.

The right claims the political police still remain in the hands of postcommunists, in particular the Security Service [SB]. Rightists thunder that a conspiracy of former SB officers, from Walesa through politicians of the Freedom Union, to members of the Polish Peasant Party and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD], makes the true verification and dismantling of communist structures in the secret services impossible. This is completely absurd. In truth, former SB officers have remained within the secret services after verification, but they put their knowledge and experience into tasks they neither conceive nor commission. They are controlled to a large extent by individuals affiliated with the Catholic Church. It is the Catholic Church that is the great victor on the quiet front. It owns the political police to a far greater extent than [head of President Walesa's Chancellory] Wachowski does. It is generally thought that it primarily follows orders of the Wachowski-Walesa duo.

The episcopate received a gift from [former Interior] Minister Kozlowski—the complete files of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MSW] on priests and high church officials who collaborated with the SB. That was the first step. Thanks to this, the episcopate could quietly get rid of the "traitors" without running the risk of losing face. [Primate] Glemp can now sleep calmly at night, without shivering in fear that someone sometime may light a "Lighter" ["Zapalniczka"—reference to pseudonym of unidentified high state official working for the SB] in his face.

The UOP is headed by (until just recently, at Walesa's clear wish, General) GROMOSLAW CZEMPINSKI. He is a great actor. He enjoys meeting with [SLD leader] Kwasniewski, to whom he reports on various issues of his own initiative, but has sold body and soul to Walesa. If he were to consider following a different political path before the current presidential term expires, the episcopate would be the first to know.

Czempinski's deputy, the number-two man at UOP, is Lieutenant Colonel Dr. JERZY NOZKA from Krakow, not widely known to the general public, closely affiliated with the Krakow curia when it was still headed by Cardinal Macharski's predecessor, Cardinal Wojtyla [currently Pope John Paul II). This perfect and precise player oversees the operations of counterintelligence. If the right wing forms a government in this country and it is difficult to keep Czempinski in his current post for political reasons, Lt. Col. Nozka will be the one to replace him as UOP head. His deputy would be the current Deputy Director of the Investigation Board WOJCIECH DYLEWSKI, former activist of the Independent Association of University Students [NZS] from Bialystok, well known in the local curia.

It is quite interesting to add that Interior Minister ANDRZEJ MILCZANOWSKI is guarded on behalf of the episcopate by head of his own cabinet—WEGRZYN, who frequents Miodowa [street where the episcopate is headquartered] at least once a week.

Czempinski's second deputy, who—unlike Lt. Col. Nozka—does not have much power, is Lt. Col. ZDZISLAW SKORZA. He was brought from Radom by [former Prime Minister] Pawlak, who was naive enough to believe that thanks to Skorza he will know what is going on in the UOP. Skorza, however, was made in charge of the economic section and is very diligent in securing that toilet paper does not run out in the UOP lavatories. Skorza's counterpart at MSW is Deputy Minister SOBOTKA.

Formally speaking, the coalitionists have planted their men in these important institutions, but practically speaking, Oleksy's government and the parliamentary majority still have no influence whatsoever on the secret services.

The heart of the current UOP—counterintelligence—has been headed since the fall of 1990 by Lt. Col. KONSTANTY MIODOWICZ, an activist of Freedom and Peace [WiP—major dissident group active since mid-1980's]. He is known by the nickname "Spartan," even though a chauffeured car takes him to his villa in Busko-Zdroj every week. Young Miodowicz, son of Alfred—former head of the All-Polish Trade Unions Agreement—has surely looked through all the [former Interior Minister] "Macierewicz files." Besides, he took an active part in the whole venture [of file checking]. He is widely known as a vicious enemy of the left.

Miodowicz's closest colleagues include Col. Professor Dr. STANISLAW HOC, an old SB agent who has sold his services to the church and is now in charge of political issues, Col. ANDRZEJ KAPKOWSKI—who oversees counterintelligence in the East, and Captain ANDRZEJ SADLOWSKI, a graduate of the Lublin Catholic University [KUL], a protege of the Lublin curia. The counterintelligence management also includes Col. WLODZIMIERZ ORLOWSKI, who is responsible for special technology. He supervises a team of experts on provocations and "black propaganda." His men are capable of procuring anything that can humiliate the enemy or at least get him into trouble: any "document," newspaper, leaflet, resume, photo (for example a picture of an alleged mistress of any prominent politician). They can fabricate any gossip or press scoop. Col. Orlowski's men are referred to within the UOP as the "hit men."

The UOP Political Map

Other top directors at UOP are also affiliated with the church. The Bureau of Analyses and Information, where all data on the state and citizens is gathered, is headed by Dr. ADAM ADUSZKIEWICZ of KUL, and TOMASZ BORKOWSKI and MICHAL ZACHARZEWSKI—activists of NZS and the Oasis Movement. The Bureau of Staff and Training is headed by Director KAZIMIERZ MORDASZEWSKI, a protege of the Bialystok curia, just like his deputy, Jaroslaw MOJSIEJUK. The head of the Bureau of Files and Archives is ANTONI ZIELINSKI, employed by the Catholic fundamentalist Macierewicz. The head of Czempinski's cabinet is a protege of the Warsaw curia, ANDRZEJ PILASZKIEWICZ.

Men affiliated with the Catholic Church have thus been planted in the most important posts: staffing, training, files, information, the cabinet of the UOP head, and the cabinet of the minister of internal affairs. Of course, this is no coincidence.

The second, weaker center of command is Mietek Wachowski who—like the bishops—has never been elected by anyone to develop programs and oversee state structures. Wachowski had his chum from Bydgoszcz, WALDEMAR MALINOWSKI, appointed to the office of head of the UOP Observation Bureau. This proves that Mieciu [diminutive of Mieczyslaw] is indeed nobody's fool and knows a lot about secret services. After all, each surveillance request is filed to Malinowski. Mietek thus knows who is currently under surveillance and why.

The Catholic Church has planted its men not only in counterintelligence, but in the intelligence service as well. BARTLOMIEJ SIENKIEWICZ, for example, a graduate of the Jesuit School in Krakow and protege of former [Interior Minister] Kozlowski. They also have their own man who is responsible for counterintelligence operations within the Border Guards [SG]. His name is WOJCIECH BROCHWICZ and is in fact regarded to be the head of SG. Brochwicz was once an activist of anarchist movements. He has now settled down, and is accumulating material wealth in truly bourgeois style. He recently bought a 4,500 square meter plot of land near Magdalenka [near Warsaw].

Out of the 14 UOP field offices, at least 10 are run by people affiliated with the Catholic Church. For example: the head of the field division in Bialystok is KRZYSZTOF BONDARYK, a protege of the local curia; in Bydgoszcz—former NZS activist, the local bishop's pet ZBIGNIEW NOWEK; in Krakow the entire leadership is affiliated with the Church, most of all TADEUSZ RUSAK, a friend of the curia and Jan Maria Rokita, in Lublin—MAREK PAWLIKOWSKI, an activist of the Oasis Movement, in Poznan—MACIEJ URBANSKI, once fielded by the Confederation for an Independent Poland, in Rzeszow—MICHAL STREK.

What Do They Do?

Over the five years of its existence, the UOP has completed only a few intelligence operations, probably fewer than five. What do the 5,700 people—not counting the "nonlegals" and "secret agents"—do? The Macierewicz list contained 62 names of deputies, senators, and eminent figures who had collaborated with the SB. When pressed by the special Sejm commission, Macierewicz admitted that he failed to list the names of 12 SB agents who had decided to cooperate with the UOP. One may assume that these were not agents planted in the Christian-National Union or the Center Accord, but rather in the red-and-green benches occupied by the left.

The UOP has practically carried out no operations against the liberals, although everyone calls them "affairals" ["aferaly"], against the [Freedom] Union, or against the right. Approximately 20 percent of their operations are directed against the left. The left is a political target to which the UOP devotes time and the huge means it generates as a subcontractor to our most recent allies—the Americans, British, and Germans.

Most revealing of the true targets of the political police is the terrorism division within the Counterintelligence Board, which deals with skinheads and the left wing. For Miodowicz's men, Tejkowski's boys with shaved heads, who greet each other with the Nazi "Sieg heil," thus pose exactly the same type of threat as [Prime Minister] Oleksy, [Labor Minister] Miller, [SLD Deputy] Sierakowska, Kwasniewski, [head of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic] Szmajdzinski, or [former Prime Minister] Pawlak and Strak [former head of the Office of the Council of Ministers—URM]. The head of this division is Lt. Col. ANDRZEJ WISNIEWSKI, and his deputy is Mjr. JAN KASPRZAK.

Surveillance of the very left which currently makes up the majority of state authorities (parliament, the government, various offices) is carried out whenever an official pretext arises. If no pretexts exist, they are made up. The UOP, for example, has a statutory obligation to combat international crime and terrorism. This pretext—to use their language—"legends," which means that it officially sanctions the attention the secret services devote to the East-West Association.

Part of the "legend" is the assumption that Russians run companies in Poland, which—through the East-West Association (a successor to the former Society for Polish-Soviet Friendship)—maintain contacts with Polish companies affiliated with the left. This "legend" almost naturally proves that the Russians—via the East-West Association and via Polish economic subjects—are financing the left. There thus exists a "necessity" of operationally verifying the concept—fielding an agent, installing taps, controlling mail, and tailing activists of the association. Hence Mieczyslaw Czerniawski, head of the Polish-Russian parliamentarian group, Tadeusz Iwinski, one of the leaders of the East-West Association, and Danuta Grabowska, currently deputy minister at the Ministry of National Education, happen to be tailed. State structures thus become the subject of surveillance.

A request for operations against deputies (and all of the aforesaid three are such) must meet formal legal requirements. There are, of course, no problems with obtaining the approval of the interior minister in such cases. Still, the second signatory—the prosecutor general—also poses no problems. The former Prosecutor General Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz, an SLD representative in the government, transferred the right to sign such approvals to his first deputy, STANISLAW IWANICKI, who is so loyal to Walesa that he is admitted to participate in the most confidential plots of how to dissolve the Sejm within the existing legal framework. We wrote about Iwanicki in the 495 issue of NIE. Now that Jaskiernia succeeded Cimoszewicz, Iwanicki has—for the time being at least—retained his right to sign documents on installing bugging devices, controlling mail, or tailing deputies.

Other UOP operational "assumptions" of which we were able to learn claim that former activists of the Central

Committee of the Polish United Workers Party [KC PZPR] must have had contacts with the secret services of socialist states. That is how the "affair" of SLD Deputy Sobotka began, particularly since his name was dropped as the left wing's candidate for the post of deputy interior minister—an office he did get in the end.

Since the Germans signalled that they "had papers" incriminating the left, discreet talks with Pastor Gauck were entered into. The documents he passed on, however, were not of sufficient quality—they were practically worthless. Neither Czempinski nor Milczanowski trusted Gauck, therefore a decision was made to carry out an operation so as to secretly reach the Gauck archive and search it independently. A UOP team headed by experienced operational officer Col. K.B. went to Germany. Even K.B. himself failed to please his superiors, because there simply were no documents incriminating Sobotka. Since there was no "hook," there was no way the nomination could have been prevented. Milczanowski and Czempinski took this failure hard, especially as Wachowski kept on bringing it up against them. In the end, K.B. became the scapegoat. After some time, Miodowicz dismissed him without giving any reason. The 12,000 or so German marks that the operation cost were included in counterintelligence's own expenses.

The UOP may file cases not only against specific individuals, but also against so-called objects. An "object," for example, could be the Sejm or URM. Few know that the Sejm is no longer protected by the Personal Security Unit [BOR], but by counterintelligence officers. This means that it is easier to infiltrate deputies and senators. The special services are very happy with the conduct of the current resident of URM, Prime Minister Oleksy. Oleksy approves the associates he is presented with easily and naively. There are currently at least several such people working for him, of both sexes.

The UOP's most spectacular staffing move was assigning ANDRZEJ ANKLEWICZ as the head of the team of the prime minister's advisers. He had once worked at the administrative department of KC PZPR, headed by Andrzej Gdula. Anklewicz is a mature, ruthless counterintelllligence operations officer, a colonel at that. If he had not renewed his contacts, could he have become deputy director of the Cabinet of Interior Minister Macierewicz after the revolution of 1989? He was considered his pet. He then went on to work in a UOP division, SG, where he was deputy commandant. And now he holds a key post in the prime minister's office.

The UOP's presence is equally "well established" among journalists. The political police are very skillful at taking all the possibilities these contacts give. The more eminent and popular the press title, the higher and more eminent is its guardian in the UOP hierarchy. The deputy minister himself, for instance, is the guardian of the WPROST weekly. He oversees the paper by keeping in touch, meeting the chief editor, sometimes suggesting an interesting topic and supplying facts documented by the police. The NIE weekly, in particular Jerzy Urban, is also the object of such interest and such attempts at gaining influence.

To whom did the UOP devote the most attention over these past five years? We know several names: Jaruzelski, Rakowski, Siwicki, Kiszczak—those are old. Currently it is Kwasniewski, Pawlak, Miller, Borowski, Kaczmarek, Iwinski, Sekula, Strak, Szmajdzinski, Jaskiernia, Dziewulski, Zemke. And—excuse me—Urban, along with Baranski.

The Most Important Target

The most important target at present is undoubtedly preventing the election of Aleksander Kwasniewski to president of the Republic of Poland. The church and Walesa are ready to do anything to achieve that objective. The UOP is prepared in terms of organization, staffing, and technology to carry out any tasks and implement all projects targeted at altering the result of the elections. Once Kwasniewski officially makes a claim to Namiestnikowski Palace, he will be immediately offered BOR protection. He can be sure that anyone assigned to him will in fact be an officer of the political police. I fear the secret services will convince the nation of whatever they want. They will make a Jew out of him, an agent; they can procure any false evidence they want; they will take care of his wife. His political allies will be presented in the darkest of colors.

If I am wrong, if I am accusing the UOP of deeds yet uncommitted, if the current UOP is ready to passively accept any result of democratic elections, they should return uncopied microfilm number WA 00260II to Kwasniewski and microfilm WA 00262 to Miller right now, before the presidential campaign begins. These pieces of microfilm contain all the documents and thousands of pictures gathered by UOP in the process of documenting their lives and day-to-day contacts, in the course of operation "Waga." It was carried out in connection with the investigation into the case of the so-called Moscow money. It is not true that the documents were destroyed. In the form of microfilm, they were deposited in the UOP archives, with the restriction that they shall remain at the disposal of counterintelligence for five years, until 1997. The pictures alone—a huge number were taken of both Kwasniewski and Miller—could be montaged in any way imaginable and then distributed so that they could take on lives of their own.

Moreover, the UOP has practically tested far more advanced operations than producing false evidence. The dismissal of Kolodziejczyk, head of the Ministry of National Defense, who ceased to be "steerable" from Namiestnikowski Palace, was decided upon at the MSW center in Magdalenka. We learned this from an interview Kolodziejczyk himself gave to SUPER EXPRESS (18 April, 1995). His interlocutors in Magdalenka were Wachowski, Wilecki, Czempinski, and head of the Vistula Military Units at MSW (considered to be Walesa's guard), General Toczek. It turns out that having lost Wachowski's favors, the minister of national defense, who sat in the government of the victorious coalition after the last democratic elections, was sacked by four guys whom nobody had ever elected to anything, who are practically beyond the control of democratic institutions, and who wield great power.

Another example is Pawlak. His removal from the political scene was accomplished by orchestrating the allegedly far-reaching scandal with the InterAms company, which obtained lucrative government contracts because its head was a close friend of the prime minister and employed his "mistress." The press, as we well remember, wrote of nothing else at the time. And then a sudden silence fell. Nobody goes back to that now, nobody says a word. The objective was to get rid of Prime Minister Pawlak, and not to prepare a police investigation of an embezzlement case. The head of NATO, Willy Claes, is being harassed years after a similar case. But here... in an instant everyone fell silent over the coffin, all traces were wiped out... Perhaps the press was no longer fed because there was no such need once Pawlak was gone.

The usual sign that a successive operation has been completed is a speech given by Walesa. Walesa says, for example, that Pawlak is inept and should take a holiday. Pawlak refuses, therefore the previously prepared operation is launched and Pawlak must leave.

If the fledgling Polish democracy does not muster enough strength to smack the black secret services on the hands the moment they are hatching, it will perish. The left is clearly incapable of dealing with them on its own. Whether this is due to fear, a communist inferiority complex, the force of habit that one must not make enemies with Rakowiecka [name of street where UOP is headquartered], or because it has been seduced by Czempinski—it is difficult to say. It is a fact, however, that despite having won the elections, it has failed to change anything in the UOP. Could it be that the left believes that WiP, NZS, and Oasis Movement activists and proteges of the various curies will be loyal to the legal state authorities formed by the left?

Establishing a Sejm commission that would control the UOP as tightly as possible and endow it with wide powers is a necessity that should not be put off any longer if the election campaign is to be honest. As we know, the UOP would gladly see—for example—Deputies Siemiatkowski and Rokita on the commission. Oleksy's government should outwit the UOP staff and remove secret police residents from the central offices. Equally fast—before the elections.

P.S. We are aware that the publication of this text may serve as a pretext for filing charges of revealing state secrets. We firmly stand by the principle—widely acclaimed by legal experts in the parliament and in press debates—that illicit operations of state institutions and information, the revealing of which to a considerable degree protects constitutional order in the state, cannot be regarded as legally protected secrets.

Regional Chambers of Commerce Cooperate

95EP0074A Warsaw RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE in Polish 25 Feb 95 No 24, p 8

[Article by Waldemar Mickiewicz: "An Economic Information System for the Chambers of Commerce From Central and East Europe Is Being Formed"]

[FBIS Translated Text] *In late 1994 and early 1995, the economic self-management organizations of Poland and Russia came up with an initiative to create an environment for cooperation between chambers of commerce in our region under the new circumstances which have emerged after the breakup of the CEMA [Council for Economic Mutual Assistance] and the USSR. Andrzej Arendarski, president of the KIG [National Chamber of Commerce], and Stanislav Smirnov, president of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce of the Russian Federation, brought about a meeting of representatives of economic self-management bodies from the former USSR and CEMA countries. As a result of the meeting, the International Council for Cooperation Between Chambers of Industry, Commerce, and the Economy of Central and Eastern Europe was set up. The establishment of a joint economic information system comprising the member self-management bodies of the International Council is one of its most significant undertakings.*

A working meeting of experts from the chambers of industry, commerce, and the economy from this region was held on 21 through 23 February of this year in Rynia in the vicinity of Warsaw. The experts adopted a joint protocol which outlined the mode of further efforts to establish a joint system of economic information.

The initiative on cooperation between economic self-management bodies in the countries of our region has thus entered the working stage. As the group of experts was completing its work, KIG General Director Jerzy Bujok said, among other things, the following:

"We are building an information system which will support a new economic order emerging in Central and Eastern Europe. New states have emerged, as have millions of new companies; changes are also underway in enterprises which have existed for a while in, among other things, output mix. All of this requires access to information. Only when economic entities have the necessary information on their partners at their disposal will economic transactions be safe and more effective. Of course, this is about information procured and made available in accordance with legislation in effect in specific countries. Such are the needs of enterprises which as it is our chambers support. The emerging joint economic information system will bolster the market orientation of the economy in the countries contributing to the implementation of this initiative."

In the approved protocol, the experts unanimously stressed the need to coordinate the undertakings of individual chambers so as to make the exchange of meaningful information possible.

Will this be a uniform system mandating the creation of strictly defined systems in individual countries? This is how Igor Gorodnichiy, an expert of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce of the Russian Federation, responded to this question put by RYNKI ZAGRANICZNE:

"Each chamber will design its own system taking into account the peculiarities and needs of the economic entities it comprises. References to a 'consistent' or 'uniform' system suggest that certain arrangements will be imposed from the outside. However, at issue is not the imposition of anything at all, but rather such a system of cooperation and information exchange in which the proprietary information systems being established in individual economic self-management bodies would also sustain regional exchanges. We are just experts, and our mission is to design an international system linked to other systems of economic information, for example, those in existence in the European Union."

In turn, Yuriy Zanuda, a representative of the Chamber of Industry and Commerce of Ukraine, told us that the pattern of interests of enterprises from individual countries is such that economic information exchanges are becoming a necessity within the region, and that building a market economy gives a boost to requirements for economic information.

He stated: "Member countries of the European Union are also interested in the creation of an information system in Central and Eastern Europe since it sustains various forms of regional cooperation. It is even possible to obtain certain funds from this source for building the system on which we have just begun working. Besides, enterprises, especially the newly emerging ones, need this information badly since they are looking for partners in their immediate vicinity. The task of the chambers is to meet these needs. Therefore, I see the value of not just the initiative to establish a joint economic information system for chambers in our region but also of the initiative aimed at more extensive cooperation by economic self-management bodies from our states."

The protocol approved as a result of the expert group proceedings provides for drafting documents which will make building the system possible. Subsequent meetings of experts will be held each time in a different country. The working group meeting in Rynia inaugurated the proceedings.

White Mercury 'Intended' for Sale in U.S. Seized

AU0805143595 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 4 May 95 p 4

[Article by Roxana Barlea: "Romanian-Born American Caught Trying To Smuggle Mercury Out of the Country"]

[FBIS Translated Text] During a routine customs check at Otopeni International Airport, employees of the Antiterrorist Brigade of the Air Transportation Police arrested Nelu Romanitian, aged 37, a Romanian national currently residing in the United States who was trying to leave Romania with 1.3 kg of white mercury [mercur alb].

Further investigations revealed that the merchandise had been purchased by Ioan Popa, the owner of the Prodcom Impex Nera Ltd company in Cluj-Napoca Municipality. Searching Romanitian's home, the police found a further 6.8 kg of white mercury, which, according to the smuggler, was intended to be sold in the United States at a price of $5,000 per kilogram.

Investigations are still underway, with Romanitian and Popa under arrest, the charges against them being illegal possession and smuggling of toxic substances, respectively.

Ceremonies Held To Mark V-E Day, Independence

AU0905115595 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 9 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In Bucharest and throughout the country solemn ceremonies were dedicated to the 50th anniversary of the conclusion of World War II and the 118th anniversary of the proclamation of Romania's independence [from the Turkish Empire following the 1877 war].

The ceremonies organized at the Arch of Triumph were attended by Senate Speaker Oliviu Gherman; Chamber of Deputies Speaker Adrian Nastase; Prime Minister Nicolae; representatives of the presidency, other central institutions, and political parties; Romanian and foreign war veterans; knights of the Mihai Viteazul order; representatives of the diplomatic corps; and thousands of residents of Bucharest. The high-ranking dignitaries laid wreaths in the name of the institutions they represented. The ceremonies ended with a parade of military units representing the various branches of our country's Armed Forces.

A military ceremony was held previously at the monument to the Unknown Soldier in the capital. Attending were the prime minister, the national defense minister, the interior minister, the SRI [Romanian Intelligence Service] director, other figures of our political and cultural life, heads of diplomatic missions and military attaches accredited to our country, war veterans, and many citizens of the capital. Our reporter Catalina Cretu reports that wreaths were laid on behalf of the presidency, the parliament, the government, and other central bodies, as well as the War Veterans National Association, and the National League of the 1989 December Fighters.

Iliescu Stresses Nonpolitical Nature of Reshuffle

AU0505163395 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1300 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Taking into consideration the prime minister's proposals for a cabinet reshuffle, Romania's President Ion Iliescu removed Messrs. Cristian Ionescu and Marin Sorescu—by a presidential decree issued today—from their positions as ministers of trade and culture, respectively, and appointed Messrs. Petru Crisan and Viorel Marginean to these posts.

The oath-taking ceremony before Romania's president took place at Cotroceni Palace around 1300 hours, our correspondent Sorin Croitorescu reports.

In the speech made on this occasion, President Iliescu congratulated the new ministers and expressed his gratitude and appreciation for the activity of the two released dignitaries. Iliescu said this was not a political reshuffle, but rather a mere swapping of people and positions—which is a usual procedure in the activity of governments—since the two former ministers requested to be released from their posts for purely personal reasons.

The Romanian president then briefly presented the credentials of the former and new ministers and expressed his hope that the activity of the new members of the government will be to the benefit of the country.

Petru Crisan, the new minister of trade, told the press that the priorities of the moment are to strengthen production-trade activity and to intensify our efforts to increase overall exports.

Viorel Marginean, the minister of culture, said his ministry wants to cooperate as closely as possible with the other ministries—particularly the Ministry of Foreign Affairs—and with the Romanian Cultural Foundation and the creative unions. He said he wants to carry out a survey of the internal organization of the Ministry of Culture.

The two new members of the Nicolae Vacaroiu cabinet do not belong to any political party, our correspondent Sorin Croitorescu reports.

At the beginning of today's cabinet meeting, Prime Minister Mr. Vacaroiu introduced the two new ministers: Petru Crisan, minister of trade, and Viorel Marginean, minister of culture.

Hrebenciuc Views One-Day Belgrade Visit

AU0605153895 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1950 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Viorel Hrebenciuc, the secretary general of the government, returned home a few minutes ago on a special plane from a visit he paid to Belgrade. This is the statement he made at the airport to our correspondent Andrei Serban:

[Begin Hrebenciuc recording] I paid this one-day visit to Yugoslavia upon the invitation of my counterpart, Mr. Mladen Vukcevic, the secretary general of the federal government of Yugoslavia. I also held talks with Mr. Nikola Sainovic, the deputy prime minister; Mrs. Margit Savovic, the human and minority rights minister; and Mr. Radoslav (?Bulaic), the deputy of the Yugoslav foreign minister. The delegation I headed also held talks at the transportation and the electricity ministry headquarters.

The talks concentrated on two principal issues. We briefly examined the current situation in the Yugoslav region from two angles: the consequences of the fact that the cease-fire accord was not extended, the current conflict in western Slavonija—that is, in Croatia—and the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina; second, the bilateral relations between Romania and Yugoslavia, as well as the main domains in which we will have to further economic cooperation between our two countries when the embargo is lifted.

I remarked on the fact that under the current very difficult circumstances, the Yugoslav Government continues to believe in the political settlement of the conflicts in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina; and, at the same time, it expresses its concern over the escalation of those conflicts. [end recording]

Daily on New Methods of Smuggling Fuel to FRY

AU0905114895 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 5 May 95 p 2

[Article by Valentin Bolocan: "The Tactics and Strategy of Gasoline Smuggling Over the Danube"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The intensifying of the border guards' actions to reinforce Romania's pledge to observe the UN embargo imposed on the former Yugoslavia [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, FRY], as well as the people's appetite for fast money, has made the smugglers in the Moldova Veche area change their work "strategy."

The smugglers, who have been operating over a long period of time, now have the financial means to use hired hands to do the job. The three border guard gunboats recently deployed in that area did impress the smugglers, making them switch to the hired-hand method. The "small fry," as the border guards call them, are usually jobless individuals who come from various parts of the country. In exchange for 50 German marks [DM] per shipment, they are ready to assume any risks in place of their "masters." The bosses, however, earn DM2,000 to DM3,000 for each such shipment performed by the "small fry." While the latter are at work, the "big shots" are having drinks in bars, lighting their cigarettes with DM100 bills.

But let us look at their new methods: Their new trick consists in using "kamikaze" boats, that is, first they send three or four empty boats across the river, and when they see that the border guards have taken the bait, trying to intercept them, they send the real shipment in a completely different area. They now use boats powered by two engines so as to increase their speed. Some of them even use unmanned [remote-controlled] boats (and keep the DM50 wage for themselves.)

Lately the cases of physical aggression against the officers, noncoms, and servicemen of the border guards have become more frequent.

Some of the border guards—for obvious reasons we will not disclose their names—told our reporters that owing to the smugglers' threats they had to move to other areas so that their family's lives would not be endangered, and now they commute to work.

A somewhat more special case occurred two weeks ago, when one of the law-abiding residents of the town, who was sheltering one of the border guards was beaten up by the smugglers for "treason." He would not give in to them.

Whenever the "small fry" sail out with a shipment, the bosses have 20-30 other boats ready to protect the freight should the border guards' speedboats show up. In such cases the smugglers do not refrain from using hooks or hurling rocks at the guards and they even ram the guards' boats on purpose, wrecking them. [passage omitted]

Hungarian Minority on Recommendation No. 1201

AU0805120495 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0400 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] In connection with the Council of Europe's Recommendation 1201, the UDMR [Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania] Council of Representatives, which concluded a meeting on 6 May in Targu Mures, adopted a statement that reads as follows: The Council of Representatives of the UDMR took note with satisfaction of Directive 508 of 1995 of the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, which not only reconfirms Recommendation 1201 of 1993, but also adopts it as a fundamental guideline of the monitoring process.

At the same time, this directive confirms the justice of the aspirations of the Hungarian community in Romania and the European spirit of the solutions proposed by it.

The communique reads, further: Upon Romania's admittance as member with full rights in the Council of Europe, the Romanian authorities pledged in writing to base their policy in the area of protection of minorities' rights on the principles included in Recommendation 1201, a pledge that has yet not been fulfilled.

No doubt the inclusion of the aforementioned document in Romanian domestic legislation and its implementation can make a significant contribution to the acts of preventing and finding a solution to interethnic conflict and maintaining stability in the region, the statement adopted by the UDMR Council of Representatives concludes.

Senator Views Control of Secret Service Activity

AU0905083695 Bucharest EXPRES MAGAZIN in Romanian 2-9 May 95 p 5

[Interview with Alexandru Radu Timofte, senator of the Social Democracy Party of Romania and chairman of the Senate's Defense, Public Order, and National Security Commission, by Ileana Lucaciu: "The Battle for Control of the Activity of the Secret Services Does Not Mean Overstepping One's Prerogatives"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Lucaciu] To qualify for employment with the secret services, one needs to have special skills in order to become a good professional. What, in your opinion, are these special skills?

[Timofte] To know all these things well, I should have been at least a lecturer, if not professor at the Intelligence Institute of the Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI]. This does not mean that I have not learned about certain special skills that an intelligence officer must possess. The first quality he must have is loyalty to the country and the institution he is serving. The second quality is a higher intellect than the norm, and I am convinced that we currently have such people in our intelligence structures. A third condition is outstanding confidentiality and the ability to keep a secret. These are but a few of the skills of a professional from the intelligence structures that separate him from the man on the street.

[Lucaciu] At this time, we have six or seven intelligence services...

[Timofte] As a matter of fact, we only have two main services: the SRI and the External Intelligence Service [SIE]. The other ones—the Army Intelligence Directorate [DIA], the Military Unit [UM] 0215, the Guard and Protection Service [SPP], the Special Telecommunications, and the Intelligence Service of the Ministry of Justice—are something totally different and have other duties.

[Lucaciu] Parliament has drafted the Law on the SRI and the Law on the National Security. Aside from that, it is also preparing a law on SIE. Parliament has also set up an SRI Oversight Commission, which wants to extend its control over SIE, too. Does this control also apply to the operative activity of the intelligence services?

[Timofte] The parliamentary oversight is being exercised over all intelligence services set up on the basis of the Law on National Security. Only the SRI is being supervised by a special parliamentary commission of the two chambers. In the case of the other services, control is exerted by the Defense, Public Order, and National Security Commissions of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. The main lever for the exercise of the parliamentary control over these services is monitoring the way in which the money allocated from the state budget is being spent.

[Lucaciu] Still, is this control not rather limited?

[Timofte] No, because you can ascertain how much of the respective money was spent on capital investments, how much was spent on personnel, and how much for operative expenses. Therefore, we can compare the amounts used for operative expenses, which are devoted to various intelligence missions, to the money spent on personnel. This is the role of the control, because I do not think that these commissions can go deeply into the activity of the services and their operative actions and strictly investigate their operations. More often than not, even those who work within these institutions are not aware of the tasks of their colleagues. Therefore, a parliamentary commission cannot and must not know everything....

[Lucaciu] I deliberately started this interview with a question about the skills of a professional intelligence operator because I think that the people who monitor the activity of these professionals should also possess them to a certain degree....

[Timofte] In practical terms, this is quite impossible. This would mean that a future candidate to the position of parliamentarian should also possess specialized skills in this field if he wants to control the activity of the intelligence services. That is why we cannot meddle in the operative activities of these services. Of course, there are also situations—upon reception of various complaints and accusations—where we must learn about certain operative stages of the activity of the intelligence services. However, we will only deal with already concluded missions and will not interference in ongoing operations.

[Lucaciu] Can a parliamentarian involved in monitoring these services take political sides at times?

[Timofte] I believe this is quite possible; therefore, steps were taken to ensure that these commissions consist of parliamentarians from all political groups. Decisions within both the SRI Oversight Commission and the Defense Commission are taken in a plenary session of the commission by a majority of votes. However, there have not been any instances of divergent viewpoints in these commissions so far. Nobody has given priority to party interests in this matter. But then, such instances of politicking may emerge in the activity of the commissions in the future. We must avoid such situations.

[Lucaciu] Apropos the control over the two basic services, SRI and SIE, you believe that the supervision should be carried out by different commissions so as to avoid the accumulation of information in the hands of only a few individuals. You suggestively brought up the Pacepa [former deputy chief of the Romanian Secret Service Securitate who defected to the West in the 1970's] case to substantiate your viewpoint....

[Timofte] I am in favor of different commissions because their prerogatives are also different. The SRI gathers intelligence within the country, while the SIE does it from abroad. What would happen if all the data gathered by these services were to get into the hands of a single person? I am not especially referring to a chairman and a simple member of an oversight commission, but even to a leader of such an institution—be it the SRI or the SIE—who could thus influence and dominate the activity of these commissions and also the activity of the other intelligence service, to which he does not belong. Thus can we reach situations—I am exaggerating here a bit—such as the Pacepa case, which has done great damage to the country.

[Lucaciu] Do you think that our services, the SRI and the SIE, have fully done their intelligence-gathering duty in the case of Recommendation 1201?

[Timofte] I believe that our services were at least one step behind those who were interested that Romania should again remain in the second place in the "competition" with Hungary.

[Lucaciu] What is your concrete proposal about control over the SIE?

[Timofte] I believe that control over the SIE activity should be further implemented as it has been done so far by our commission, until the law on the organization and functioning of this service is passed. When the law becomes valid, we will decide on a solution on the matter: either an oversight commission or subcommission for the SIE. Until then, we will continue to supervise this institution as we have done so far. Personally, I favor setting up a joint control subcommission of the two defense, public order, and national security commissions, consisting of no more than five people—three deputies and two senators—with the acceptance of the minimum majority: three from the governmental arch and two from the opposition. However, it is up to Parliament to decide on that. What I just told you is my personal opinion.

[Lucaciu] The government has sent to the Senate a law on combating terrorism. Since we have revised the Penal Code punishments, do you think that such a law is necessary?

[Timofte] The antiterrorism law is very necessary and I expected a law on this subject to be forwarded to the Defense Commission. Unfortunately, the government sent our commission only a law on punishing terrorist acts. After reading the title of that law, I realized that it is not up to us to decide in this matter, but rather up to the Legal Commission. With such an antiterrorism law in force, we want to actually prevent terrorist acts and not merely increase the punishment for terrorist acts. I noted a certain parallelism between some provisions of the Penal Code and those of the present document sent to us by the government as the future antiterrorism law. We will have to work a lot on this draft if we want it not to be rejected by Parliament.

[Lucaciu] What, in your opinion, should such a law contain?

[Timofte] The first article should define the meaning of a terrorist act. Then, I would present in detail all possible terrorist acts and actions. Then, I would precisely define the responsibilities incumbent upon certain state institutions in preventing such manifestations. Then, I would proceed to outline the punishments for each terrorist act. In the final dispositions, I would eventually refer to certain provisions of the Penal Code so as to avoid the parallelism contained by the document sent down to the Senate by the government.

[Lucaciu] The antiterrorism brigade is subordinated to the SRI. Do you believe that this relationship of the subordination of the antiterrorism brigade to the SRI should be still continued in the present?

[Timofte] Let me remind you that, sometime in 1990, your newspaper carried an article titled "Romanians, Something Is Being Cooked Up For You" whereby "Timofte, Predescu, Platica, and Fintescu" were quoted as cooking up a law on the SRI and a law on national security. At that time, I strongly supported in Parliament the idea of this antiterrorism brigade staying within the SRI structure. I thought at the time that those who owe the intelligence can also be more efficient in their operational intervention. Now I see that this antiterrorism brigade has been incorporated in the structure of the Ministry of Interior. There are many arguments pro and against the transfer of this elite unit and I do not want to enter into details now. My statement may provoke certain reactions not only from the Ministry of Interior, but particularly from the SRI. I know that this antiterrorism brigade is currently an intelligence source for the SRI thanks to the specific duties it is performing at various airports and in other places. But, maybe I have already said too much and I can be criticized for my statements. Nevertheless, I believe that—if we want to truly be a rule-of-law state—this antiterrorism brigade should stay in the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Interior.

[Lucaciu] In short, how do you think that the problem of the parliamentary control over those intelligence services that are still not covered by any clear legislation will be solved?

[Timofte] I do not see a solution very soon. To extend the activity of the SRI Oversight Commission to the other services presupposes changing at least three normative acts. Even the Constitution—Article 62, letter "g"—says in reference to the SRI that the activity of that service is controlled by a joint parliamentary commission of the two chambers. Therefore, this control only applies to the activity of this intelligence service alone! If we want to extend the control to the other services, too, we must change the Constitution stipulation "this intelligence service" into "these intelligence services."

[Lucaciu] Following the recent visit of the SRI Oversight Commission to Cotroceni [presidential palace], the conclusion was reached that the president favors extending the control of this parliamentary commission to the SIE, too.

[Timofte] I consider the commission's request for an interview with President Ion Iliescu as normal. However, I do not consider the statements made after the visit by certain members of the commission—as to whether the president favors the extension of the commission's supervision prerogatives to the SIE, too—as something normal. I am convinced that Ion Iliescu knows that this matter is not within his prerogatives, but rather within the realm of the Parliament's competence. I also believe that those colleagues from the SRI Oversight Commission have rather overstepped their own prerogatives. The battle for control of the activity of the secret services does not mean overstepping one's prerogatives.

Federal

Government Condemns Croatian Attack on RSK

LD0605103995 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1017 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, May 6 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.N. Dragomir Djokic on Friday [5 May] communicated to the U.N. Security Council Yugoslav Government stands, which strongly condemned Croatia's aggression against the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK].

In a letter to current Security Council President French U.N. Ambassador Jean-Bernard Merimee, the Yugoslav Government said that detained Serb Krajina army officers and civilians were in a very difficult positions [as received] and urged the Security Council to protect the threatened Serb population.

The Yugoslav Government also called for a withdrawal of Croatian Army and police troops to positions they held before their aggression launched last Monday. The Yugoslav Government said its position on the newly-arisen crisis would depend on the Security Council's efficiency in curbing the escalation of Croatia's aggression in Serb Krajina and in eliminating the effects of the aggression.

In the aggression against Serb Krajina's Western Slavonia region launched early on May 1, Croatian troops killed more than one thousand serb civilians of whom many children, and forced about 8,000 Serb civilians, mostly women, children and the elderly, to flee to the Bosnian Serb republic. Croatian troops are still keeping about 6,000 Serb civilians surrounded in the Pakrac area in Western Slavonia.

Jovanovic, Papoulias Address Journalists

AU0505201395 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 5 May 95

[Report by Tamara Motrenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] The talks between Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias were also attended by our foreign minister, Vladislav Jovanovic. After the talks, Vladislav Jovanovic and Karolos Papoulias addressed journalists. But they were first addressed by Papoulias.

[Motrenko] Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias expressed concern about the course of events caused by Croatia's aggression in Western Slavonia and he conveyed the official position of the Greek Government, stressing that since the beginning of the crisis in the previous Yugoslavia, Greece has been contributing to the urgent search for a peaceful solution to the crisis in the previous Yugoslavia through its active engagement in the EU and the work of the Contact Group.

[Begin Papoulias recording in Greek fading into Serbo-Croatian translation] ...not so short, I would say, lengthy meeting with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. It appears to me that [words indistinct] our talks are always held in a friendly atmosphere and always with a certain hope for success. This time, too, hopes did not abandon us. (?After) I return to Athens, new steps will follow, steps in a good direction. I hope that we will also have good results.

I would like to remind you that a few days ago I visited Tehran, where a tripartite meeting took place [between the Iranian, Greek and Bosnia-Herzegovina foreign ministers], with good results. These (?results) are strengthened with my meeting with Serbian President Milosevic and Foreign Minister Jovanovic today, (?in the sense) that they will contribute to the general [words indistinct] including the EU and the Contact Group. [end recording]

[Motrenko] A large number of domestic and foreign journalists were then addressed by Yugoslav Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic.

[Begin Jovanovic recording] I would like to add a few words to what our friend Mr. Papoulias has said. We used this friendly meeting to assess the highly friendly relations between our countries and to evaluate the situation in certain areas of cooperation. In this sense, we decided to support the current initiatives and proposals aimed at further strengthening them within the framework of the existing conditions imposed by the sanctions.

We also analyzed the situation on the territory of the previous Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav crisis and we hold identical views that all elements of the crisis must be solved exclusively in a peaceful way and by political means. We condemned all forms of use of force, regardless of which side they come from, especially the latest example of the use of force in the form of the latest aggression that Croatia has carried out against the Serbian people in the republic of Serb Krajina.

We supported all proposals, initiatives, and suggestions aimed at strengthening the peace process and its rapid development that are arriving from various quarters. The information that we received from Mr. Papoulias on his latest contacts and talks were precious to us for both taking a better position and for our future activities. [end recording]

[Motrenko] One of the journalists' questions posed to the Yugoslav foreign minister referred to the Yugoslav position on the latest events in Croatia, which happened despite the signing of a cease-fire agreement between the republic of Serbian Krajina and Croatia. Mr. Jovanovic expressed the principled position of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on that issue:

[Begin Jovanovic recording] We are committed to a political solution to all disputes and all problems in the Yugoslav crisis. For that reason we condemn all attempts [words indistinct] aggressive and repressive way, as is now the case with Croatia. Therefore, we think that the Security Council, which has taken upon itself to protect the Serbs in the republic of Serbian Krajina, has the prime responsibility and task to provide that protection and make it fully effective. We think that it would not help the interests of peace and would not help the peace process if anyone were to deprive the Security Council of that right and obligation. We expect the Security Council to act quickly and effectively to prevent what you said in your question from happening at all. [end recording]

[Motrenko] Greek Foreign Minister Papoulias used his meeting with journalists to repeat the initiatives for lifting the sanctions introduced on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Talking about the recent ministerial meeting of the countries from the Black Sea region in Athens, Papoulias said that Greece, with the consent of the participants in that meeting, has sent a letter to UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali their initiative for the lifting of the sanctions against Yugoslavia. Papoulias said that our initiative was sent to the UN secretary general as an official document with the decision of these countries. We agreed, Papoulias said, to make another attempt to strengthen that initiative even more, and we will do this in the near future.

Perisic, Janvier Discuss Situation in Slavonia

LD0505143495 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1305 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 5 May (TANJUG)—Colonel General Momcilo Perisic, chief of the General Staff [CGS] of the Yugoslav Army, and his aides, today received the UN military commander for former Yugoslavia, French Lieutenant Colonel General Bernard Janvier, the information service of the Yugoslav Army CGS reports.

During a two-hour meeting they examined the situation in Western Slavonia following the Croatian Army's aggression, and some questions connected with cooperation between the UN peacekeeping forces and the Yugoslav Army.

Gen. Janvier briefed Gen. Perisic on the efforts the UN peacekeeping forces, and Yasushi Akashi in particular, are making in order to halt combat operations and especially help evacuate the civilians who have been encircled in the broad area around Pakrac.

Serbia

Seselj: UN Must Withdraw From Croatia, Bosnia

AU0505210195 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 95 p 4

[Article by M. Mikuljanac: "Seselj: United Nations Must Leave RSK and Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—The Serbian Radical Party [SRS] demands that all UN forces withdraw from the territory of the republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] and the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. This was stated by SRS leader Vojislav Seselj at a news conference yesterday.

According to Seselj, in the recent Croatian offensive on Western Slavonia, the UN forces demonstrated a large dose of partiality, and a lack of authority and desire to truly protect the so-called protected areas.

According to the Radicals, major powers helped the Croatian offensive with primarily logistical support, as well as through the participation of high-ranking officers "of some foreign countries" in the Croatian General Command.

"Western Slavonia was betrayed by Slobodan Milosevic. He even gave his consent for that operation, and then he tried to explain his passive stand by saying that the 'West can hardly wait for the action of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia outside its borders in order to draw it into the war,'" Seselj said.

"It would have been enough if Milosevic had not obstructed the Serbian defense," the leader of the Radicals said, "when Martic ordered attack on Osijek. Milosevic prevented that." According to Seselj, Western Slavonia is difficult to defend because of its position, and therefore a counteroffensive should have been launched in those areas of Croatia that are vulnerable: Karlovac, Zadar, Osijek, Maslenica, and even Zagreb. "Why should the civilian targets not be attacked when the Croatian Army did the same in Jasenovac, Gradiska, Okucani, and Pakrac," Seselj said.

The SRS leader claims that Milosevic personally prevented the use of the Luna missiles installed on Mt. Petrova Gora, and that there, via his men and his formations, "Red Berets," he banned the use of these missiles. "Franko Simatovic, known as Frenki, a high-ranking officer in the SDB [State Security Service], is Milosevic's key man in that region," Seselj claims.

Ending his story on the fall of Western Slavonia, Seselj said in front of a large number of domestic and foreign journalists that "everyone knows that Milosevic has to be ousted as soon as possible if Serbia is to be preserved and if a single Serbian state is to be created."

"Why did he start the war, why did he promise that all Serbs would live in one country when he is now abandoning everything" Seselj asked, and then said: "Had he decided on all this and said it in 1991, the columns of refugees would have come to Serbia, but these people would have at least been spared catastrophe."

Seselj Discusses Mobilization of SRS Volunteers

AU0505150495 Belgrade NASA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 May 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Seselj Sees First Volunteers Off to the Front"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday at noon, Vojislav Seselj [president of the Serbian Radical Party—SRS] saw the first volunteers off. The Radicals are keeping the exact number of volunteers a secret; however, we have found out that it involves a few hundred men, who left for the front in buses.

According to the president, the biggest problems emerged in arranging transportation, as the private entrepreneurs whose buses had been hired suddenly started canceling the arrangements, and they thus had to wait until buses from Vukovar had been secured for the volunteers.

Seselj says that all SRS volunteers will be placed at the disposal of the general staff of the army of the Serbian Krajina and that they will receive their concrete military deployment orders on the ground. It can be assumed that these forces will not be sent to Western Slavonia but to other potential hotspots, primarily Baranja and Lika.

The Radical leader confirms the information about the good cooperation between the Association of Veterans, headed by Colonel Milivojevic, and the SRS War Headquarters in the organization of these volunteer convoys.

Papoulias, Milosevic Discuss Yugoslav Crisis

NC0505211795 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 1700 GMT 5 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias met with Serb President Slobodan Milosevic this afternoon in Belgrade as part of the peace initiative on the Yugoslav crisis. Papoulias briefed the Serb president on the results of the tripartite meeting in Tehran and discussed all problems related to the Yugoslav crisis because of the seriousness of the situation after the recent developments in Croatia. One of the main issues the two men discussed today were the Greek-Yugoslav bilateral relations.

After meeting with Milocsvic, Papoulias said the talks were conducted in a friendly and pleasant atmosphere. He stressed: Once again we did not lose hope. The foreign minister added that after his return to Athens—he returns tonight—more peace initiatives will follow because the Tehran meeting's good results, reinforced by the results of today's meeting with President Milocevic and Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic, can help the efforts of the EU and of the Contact Group.

Papoulias continued that Greece as an EU member is especially worried after the recent developments and denounced everybody thinking they can impose any solution using military means. Papoulias said Greece will fight for the conviction of people thinking they can settle the Yugoslav crisis with hostilities and military action. The foreign minister said he favored the Bosnian foreign minister's statement in Tehran that the Muslims will continue respecting the extension of the cease-fire and will not proceed with hostilities so that the contact group will have a chance to succeed in its work.

Papoulias agreed with the Serb president that constant contact must be kept with the Serb and Yugoslav leaders because both Greece and Yugoslavia consider this period as crucial and look forward to the cooperation with powers that want peace not only in Europe but in the United States as well.

Answering a question by the ATHENS NEWS AGENCY on whether Greece will continue to act as a mediator in the Belgrade-Sarajevo talks, Papoulias answered that Greece makes everything possible so that the peace initiative and its mediator role continue. Papoulias added that Greece's mediation is very important, which was confirmed during the talks he had today with the Serb president. Papoulias also referred to the Greek initiative, endorsed by other Black Sea countries, on lifting the sanctions against Yugoslavia. Papoulias said this initiative has been submitted to the UN secretary general. He also stressed that countries directly affected by these sanctions that have supported the Greek initiative will make a second effort so that it will succeed, something expected to happen within the next few days.

Arkan Sighted Twice Near Croatian Border

AU0605201295 Paris AFP in English 1936 GMT 6 May 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Zagreb, May 6 (AFP)—Serbian paramilitary leader Arkan has twice been spotted in the north of rump Yugoslavia near the border with Croatia, Western military experts in eastern Croatia said Saturday [6 May].

Arkan, Zeljko Raznjatovic by his real name, was sighted Thursday and again Saturday in a convoy of five all-surface vehicles on roads adjoining the international border with 20 members of his "Tigers" paramilitary group. "He was obviously there on reconnaissance," one of the experts said.

Separatist Croatian Serbs have controlled a knot of territory in eastern Slavonija on the border between Croatia and rump Yugoslavia since war broke out in Croatia in 1991. But this week a surprise Croatian offensive wrested back a Serb-held enclave in Western Slavonija in a move which has provoked Serbs across the border in Bosnia-Herzegovina to the south and rump Yugoslavia to the east.

On Thursday in Belgrade, Arkan published an appeal to Serbian volunteers wanting to fight the Croatian Army to join his guard. Several thousand "Tigers" fought the Croatian Army in eastern Slavonija in 1991 amid charges of ruthless paramilitary actions, and also played a major role in the bloody ethnic cleansing of Moslem areas in Bosnia-Herzegovina in 1992. The US State Department placed Raznjatovic on a list of suspected war criminals in late 1992.

Comment: RSK 'Weakness' Spurring Croatian Attack

AU0605204295 Belgrade VECERNJE NOVOSTI in Serbo-Croatian 4 May 95 p 2

[Commentary by Boro Maric: "The Bitter Lesson"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The occupation of the Western Slavonia region of the republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] can be an introduction to new attacks by the army and the police of the Republic of Croatia on the territories of Krajina....

Besides the statements by the Croatian state leadership—that they would, by force if needed, "establish the constitutional and legal system of Croatia" on its internationally recognized territory—this conclusion can also be made on the basis of the developments in this former Yugoslav republic from the moment the Vance Plan was signed at the beginning of 1992, until today.

From the time the Vance Plan was signed, which formally ended the war in the former Socialist Republic of Croatia, the RSK was "trimmed down," losing Miljevacki Plato, the territory around the Peruca hydroelectric dam, a part of Ravni Kotari, Medacki pocket, and so on. All this "gnawing on Krajina" was carried out by the army and the police of the Republic of Croatia, in sudden and well prepared operations, which took the lives of hundreds of soldiers and civilians of the RSK. Just in the attack on Medacki pocket, Croatian troops killed 64 civilians.

Cynicism

The exact number of dead and wounded in the general offensive by 12,000 elite Croatian soldiers and policemen on the Western Slavonia region is still not known. But what is obvious is the behavior of the world powers, and their attitude towards the attack by Croatian troops on Serb soldiers and civilians in Western Slavonia, which is a part of the RSK.

World rulers did not do enough to stop the aggression of the many times more numerous and better equipped Croatian armads on Western Slavonia, and they remained deaf to the appeals of Krajina authorities for civilians to be protected.

As Croatian military aircraft machine-gunned streams of refugees, as their artillery continuously kept under fire the bridge over the Sava River, across which the inhabitants of Okucani were fleeing to the Serbian Republic, the United Nations Security Council passed the statement of their presidency, which resulted in the request for the Croatian aggressor troops to withdraw to their starting positions, which means the legalization of Croatian aggression.

International humanitarian organizations and all other organizations have still not answered the question posed by the authorities of the RSK: What has happened to the wounded, the sick, and the medical workers of the hospital in Okucani, who fell into the hands of Croatian Army and special police units?

The culmination of cynicism is, doubtlessly, the statement of the spokesman of the United Nations, John Sills. Upon the fall of the Western Slavonia region, he said that—just by the enactment of UN Security Council Resolution 981—"the areas under UN protection in Krajina stopped existing!"

By this statement, as well as by his claim that the (in)validity of the Vance Plan should be discussed by the Contact Group, Sills tried to exempt the United Nations and its peacekeeping forces from the responsibility for participation in the latest events in Western Slavonia.

Disputes

Reportedly, "Blue Helmets" had been informed about the offensive of Croatian troops on this part of the RSK, four hours before it started. They used that time to withdraw to their shelters or to get away from the place of conflict.

Putting all the blame for the defeat of the Serb Army of Krajina in Western Slavonia on Croatia and its international protectors—however big it might be—would be a one sided way to look at the state of affairs in Krajina.

From Miljevacki Plato to Western Slavonia, the campaigns of the Croatian Army and police against the RSK were carried out according to a uniform scheme. Croatia would first draw the attention of the media to a particular territory, and while the press, radio, and television fussed about it, Croatian armed forces at the same time concentrated on the area they intended to attack.

To Croatian threats with weapons, officials of the RSK mostly responded by threatening with heavy—words! If it were not that way, then the response of the Serbian Army of Krajina and its police would have been much better prepared and, after having evaluated the superiority of the Croatian Armed Forces, they would not have allowed themselves to experience such defeats, not to the extent to which it happened.

The inadequacy of the Serbian Army of Krajina and its police in firmly resisting the Croatian troops, particularly in Western Slavonia, was among others the result of a serious discord in the leadership of the RSK. Although Croatian aggression on Western Slavonia could already be anticipated, they spent much more energy on mutual accusations and on promoting their own personal positions than they did on fortifying the defense lines of Western Slavonia.

Bragging

There are more reasons for the catastrophe that the population and soldiers in Western Slavonia region of the RSK experienced. One of the crucial ones is the rejection of the peace plan of the Contact Group by the leadership of the Srpska republic and a part of the leadership of the RSK, which was accompanied by verbal exhibitionism about the readiness and the power of Serb armed forces.

Not only that boasting and opposing the whole world, as it turned out, was not based on reality, at least not in Western Slavonia, in the eyes of the leadership of Srpska republic and a part of the leadership of the RSK it also beclouded the fate of civilians, who found themselves under attack and siege by Croatian troops. If this had not happened, then thousands of Serbs, civilians, would not have remained surrounded by Croatian troops; instead they would have been evacuated on time, and accommodated far away from the reach of the weapons of Croatian soldiers and special police units.

In order for Western Slavonia, in which the Croats made use of their own supremacy, the weakness of the Serb side, and the compliance of the international factor, not to happen again, the leadership of the RSK in the first place, and their military, must learn the lesson from all that happened, even if it is a bitter one.

Belgrade Protesters Assail Inaction on Croatia

LD0805203295 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1943 GMT 8 May 95

[Item received by fax]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 8 May (SRNA)—It is incomprehensible that Serbia is silent while Serbian blood is flowing down the Sava—this was said at a protest meeting in Belgrade organized in connection with Croatia's aggression against Western Slavonia and the tragic suffering of the Serbian population there.

A letter to Presidents Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton warning them "you have nothing to celebrate in Moscow tomorrow" was sent from the meeting organized by the Association of Serbs from former Bosnia-Herzegovina and Croatia and the Montenegrin Assembly of the Serbian Unity. "Fascism has not yet been defeated. Fascism is in power in your client state, Croatia, today," the letter says.

Some 3,000 assembled citizens cheered a statement made in a message sent to Slobodan Milosevic that the tragic events in Western Slavonia are tantamount to the defeat of the current politics pursued by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

"Contrary to obligations stemming from the Yugoslav and Serbian constitutions, the Vance plan and your official statements, the Serb people in western Serb lands have been brought into a hopeless situation and abandoned to the mercy of fate," the letter to Milosevic states. The meeting warned that the lack of a clearly formulated national and state policy, as well as the revival of dangerous past ideological divisions, are fatal for the future of the Serbian people.

"We propose that in the spirit of statements you made in 1991, you set in motion an initiative to overcome the current disagreements and personal intolerance and start a process for the creation of a single Serbian state," the letter to the Serbian president says. A letter demanding that an end be put to killings of Serbs was sent to the UN Security Council from the meeting, which was addressed by its organizers Gojko Djogo, Boza Kokota, and Vlada Strugar, and painters Milic od Macve and Mirko Jovic.

Vojvodina

Wave of Refugees From Serbian Krajina

LD0805160295 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1400 GMT 8 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A new wave of refugees has arrived in Vojvodina. Our Belgrade correspondent, Szilveszter Varga, reports:

[Varga] The Yugoslav Army's tanks are still stationed on the Danube bank, that is to say, along the internationally recognized Croatian-Yugoslav border. According to a report by the Vojvodina paper MAGYAR SZO, the Yugoslav Army appeared on the Danube bridge of Bezdan, which is close to the Hungarian border, and the bridge of Gombos [Bogojevo], which is further to the south, on Friday. For this reason the bus service between Zombor [Sombor] and Pelmonostor [Beli Manastir] was suspended for the weekend, but by now the traffic between the Yugoslav and the Krajina Serb towns has been reestablished.

According to MAGYAR SZO, escaping from a possible Croatian attack, a lot of people left eastern Slavonia at Batina and Gombos and fled to Vojvodina. Men were moving their families from Krajina to Yugoslavia not only by car but by train and even tractor.

Eyewitnesses told Hungarian Radio that the number of refugees had dropped by Sunday, but about 1,000 volunteers had left Yugoslavia for Erdod [Erdut], where, no doubt, they will be trained to continue the war in the military training camp established by Zeljko Raznjatovic—Arkan.

Military Mobilization in Vojvodina Reported

LD0905100395 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0900 GMT 9 May 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Mobilization has started in several towns and villages of Vojvodina. According to information received by the [Hungarian] news agency, Hungarians and Serbs have been indiscriminately called up for military service from last night. The Novi Sad [Hungarian language daily] paper MAGYAR SZO has the information that the call-up orders were posted primarily in Subotica, Stara Moravica, Pacir, and Backa Topola. Most of the reservists are staying in Subotica, but there are people who have been taken straight to the border stretch in northwestern Backa [region close to the Croatian border], where the concentration of Yugoslav Army troops has been going on since the middle of last week.

Strengthening Border

LD0905114895 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1000 GMT 9 May 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The mobilization of reservists has begun in northern Backa. Szilveszter Varga reports from Belgrade:

[Varga] In the areas administered by the Topolya and Szabadka [Backa Topola and Subotica] municipal governments—where the majority of the population is ethnic Hungarian—the military authorities have been delivering draft papers to homes in the dead of night for the past few days. The draft papers order people to present themselves for service immediately. [passage omitted]

Some of the mobilized reservists had served for months around Bukovar [Vukovar] and took part in laying siege to the Croatian city which was eventually razed to the ground.

According to unofficial sources, most reservists accepted the draft papers but there were some who did not. Local ethnic Hungarian leaders in Vajdasag [Vojvodina] told me that the military authorities want to bring up to full complement the Topolya, Zombor [Sombor], and Szabadka barracks because the majority of the regular units there have been deployed along the Danube river, mostly around the Batina and Gombos [Bogojevo] bridges.

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